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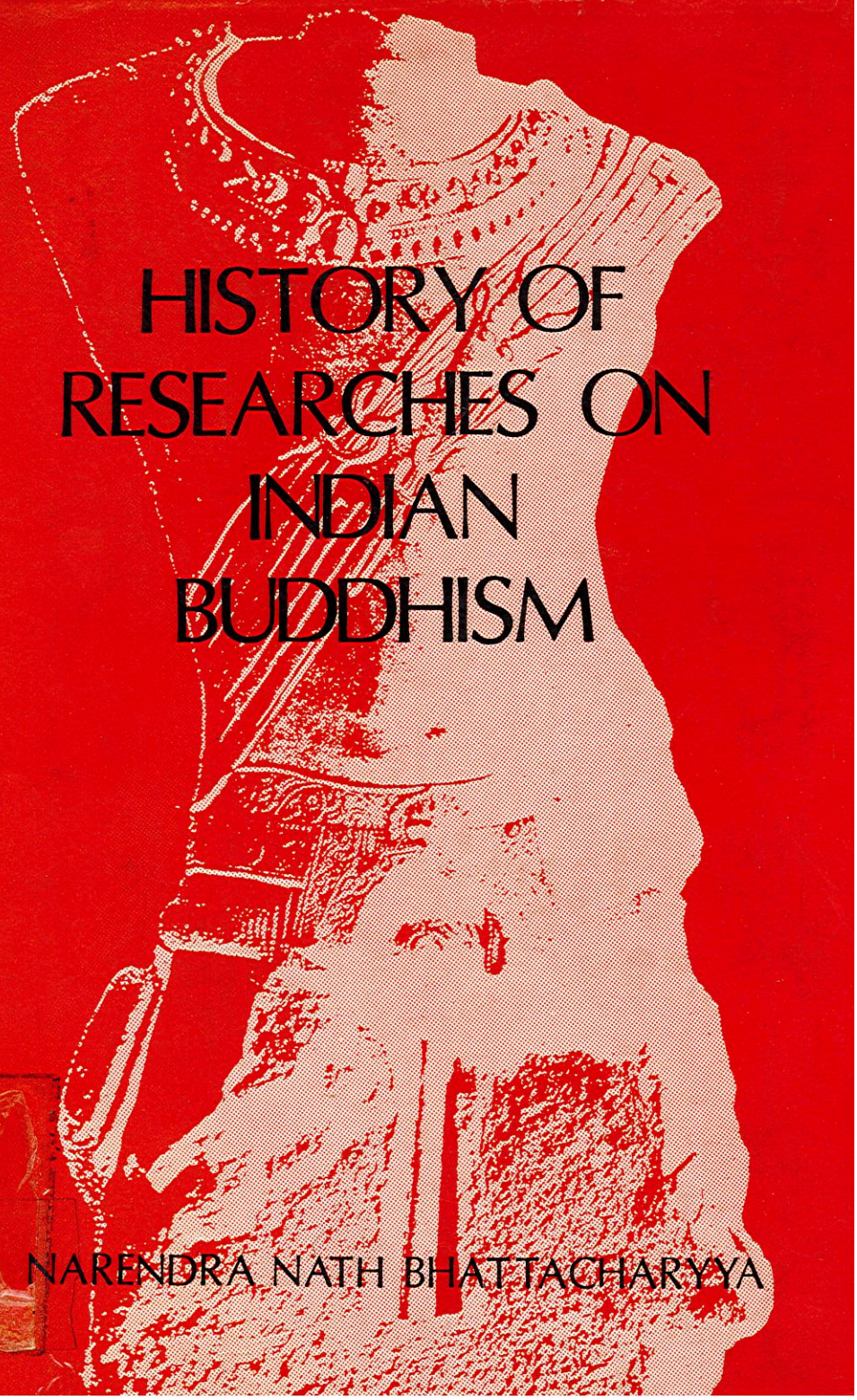

NARENDRA NATH BHATTACHARYYA

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The present work of the veteran ndologist Dr. N. N. Bhattacharyya is ntended to acquaint the young esearchers, teachers and students with he main trends of the studies and esearches on different aspects of Indian uddhism and also with the problems nd intricacies involved therein. The esults of researches covering a period of o less than 150 years (1825-1975) have een so outlined as to convey to the aders a complete and coherent idea f what has been done and what remains be done in different branches of uddhalogical studies. The special merit f this work lies not in the vast ibliographical materials collected in , but in the author's consistent and cid interpretation of the views of ninent Buddhalogists and different hools of Buddhist studies on vital uestions connected with the nderstanding of the subject. Like other orks of Dr. Bhattacharyya the present e is also expected to evoke much terest among the readers.

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Dr Narendra Nath Bhattacharyya does not require any special introduction in the field of Indological studies. He is the celebrated author of such well-known works as *Indian Puberty Rites* (1968, 1980), *Indian Mother Goddess* (1970, 1977), *History of Indian Cosmogonical Ideas* (1970), *History of the Sākta Religion* (1974), *History of Indian Erotic Literature* (1975), *Ancient Indian Rituals and Their Social Contents* (1975), *Jain Philosophy : Historical Outline* (1976), etc. He teaches religious and social history in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, and Iconography in the Department of Archaeology, Calcutta University.

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HISTORY OF RESEARCHES ON INDIAN BUDDHISM

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by
Narendra Nath Bhattacharyya

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To
My Esteemed Friend
Prof. B.N. Mukherjee

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Preface

The present work proposes to acquaint the readers with the main trends of the studies and researches on different aspects of Indian Buddhism and also with the problems and intricacies involved therein. The results of researches covering a period of no less than 150 years (1825-1975) have been so outlined as to convey to the readers a general idea of what has been done and what remains to be done in different branches of Buddhalogical studies. Such a work of course is not expected to be absolutely comprehensive, but it can indicate the lines on which further work is possible. In order to give a clear idea of the subject, I have tried in my own way to deal, howsoever summarily, with most of the important topics.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that, in spite of my best efforts, I have failed to make the volume free from errors and blemishes. For these I crave the indulgence of sympathetic readers and request them to be kind enough to draw my attention to the defects they may notice in the work. The index has been prepared by Sri Alak Kumar Chatterjee, and I am extremely thankful to him. My thanks are also due to Sri Devendra Jain of M/s Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd. for the sincere interest he has taken in publishing this work.

If the volume proves to be of any use to the students of Indology and Buddhism, I shall consider my labours sufficiently rewarded.

Narendra Nath Bhattacharyya

Deptt. of Ancient Indian History
and Culture,
Calcutta University,
51/2 Hazra Road,
Calcutta-700019

Chapter 1

Introduction

The great German philosopher Hegel (1770-1831) could write on Buddhism a single sentence in which he identified Buddha with the founder of the Nyāya philosophy.[1] This shows that in the eighteenth and also in the first quarter of the nineteenth century Buddhism was practically unknown in Europe. The earliest known European to come to the East to study Pali was the Danish scholar R.K. Rask who reached Ceylon in 1821 where he studied not only Pali but also Simhalese and acquired a rich collection of palm-leaf manuscripts. These manuscripts now form part of the Rask collection in the Royal Danish Academy. He wrote a Pali grammar based on the *Bālāvatāra* with a few reading texts for beginners, but it was not published. In 1824, Benjamin Clough published from Colombo a book under the title *A Compendious Pali Grammar with a Copious Vocabulary in the same Language*. But this work reached Europe many years after its publication. The Buddha's biography was published for the first time in Europe in 1825 in the *Asiatique Journal* edited by Julius Klaproth. Its author was the Russian scholar Isaak Jacob Schmidt of St. Petersburg. This biography had nothing to do with the Pali sources. It was solely based upon Tibetan materials.

The study of Buddhism was really initiated in Europe after the publication of *Essai sur le Pali* in French by Eugene Burnouf and

[1]It is interesting to note that Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) paid a glowing tribute to Buddhism in his *The World as Will and Representation* (1819). The sources of his knowledge of Buddhism, which he himself admitted as 'imperfect and inadequate accounts', were the earlier German versions of some Brahamanical philosophical treatises in which the Buddhist views were often described as *pūrvapakṣa* or views of the opponents. In 1844 when he brought out the second edition of his book he, however, got the chance of improving his views with the help of some scholarly works on Buddhism published meanwhile.

Christian Lassen in 1826.[1] According to Burnouf the first to mention Pali was Simon de la Loubère who visited Siam in 1687-88 as envoy of king Louis XIV.[2] In the last quarter of the eighteenth century William Chambers and J. Ph. Wesdin published a few notices on Pali. The first Pali text to become known in Europe, probably from Burmese sources, was the *Kammavācā*.[3] In 1837 George Turnour of

[1]Henri de Lubac in his *La rencontre du bouddhisme et de l 'occident'* Paris, 1952, has given the history of the meeting of Buddhism and the West. J.W. de Jong in his *Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America*, Varanasi, 1976 (originally published in *The Eastern Buddhist*, Vol. VII, 1974) has given a summary of it. Buddhism is mentioned for the first time in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromateis* which was composed about 200 AD. About two centuries after Clement, Buddha is mentioned by Hieronyus (347-419 AD) who tells us that the Buddha was born from the side of a virgin. In medieval Europe the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat was very popular. This legend has a direct bearing on the legend of the Buddha's Mahāniṣkramaṇa or great renunciation. The first contacts of the Western world with Buddhism in Asia took place in the thirteenth century when Pope Innocent IV sent Franciscan and Dominican friars as envoys to the Mongol Khan. Informations on Buddhism are given by the Franciscan friar Willem van Ruyksbroeck who spent six months in 1254 in Karakorum. In his *Itinerarium* he has given an accurate description of Lamaism and Lamaistic formulas. Marco Polo's account, composed about the end of the thirteenth century, contains more details of Buddhism. Marco closely knew the Tibetan Buddhists. In his chapter dealing with Ceylon he had given a fairly accurate summary of the life of the Buddha. He knew also about the incarnations of the Buddha. In the fourteenth century a number of Papal envoys came to China, and the accounts they wrote or described contained informations on Buddhism. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries missionaries went to China, Japan, Ceylon and South-East Asia. In 1548 the Spanish Jesuit Franciscus Xaverius met a Japanese merchant named Yagiro at Goa who explained to him and other missionaries facts of Buddhism. Information obtained from him was sent to Europe in letters written by Xaverius himself and also by Cosme de Torres, the Fathers of Goa and Father Nicolas Lancilotto between 1548 and 1549.

[2]In 1691 Loubere published *Description du royaume de Siam* which contained a translation of the life of Devadatta and an abstract of the *Pātimokkha*.

[3]Jong, op. cit., pp. 15-16. Wesdin (whose real name was Paulinus) quoted in his *Systema brahmanicum* (1791) an Italian translation of the *Kammavācā*, belonging to the Library of the Propagation of Faith, made from original Pali in 1776. Another translation was described by him in his catalogue of the manuscripts of the Velletri Museum (1793). Another translation was made in Burma by Father Vincente Sangermano, the English translation of which was published ay Francis Buchanan-Hamilton under the title 'on the religion and literature of the Burmas' in *Asiatic Researches*, 1799, VI, pp. 136-308. It is not clear whether Sangermano translated the *Kammavācā* from Pali or from Burmese. The first direct translation of the *Kammavācā* from Pali to English was made by Benjamin Clough in 1834. In 1841 Friedrich Spiegel published the *Upasampadā-Karmavācā* in Devanagari together with a Latin translation and notes. In 1844 Otto Von Boehtlingk published the *Kaṭhina-Kammavācā*. Spiegel published three other Kammavācās in his *Anecdota Palica*, Leipzig, 1845, pp. 68 ff.

the Ceylon Civil Service published his translation of the first 38 chapters of the *Mahāvaṃsa* with a few discourses of the Buddha as recorded in the Pali canon. Pali manuscripts were described by N.L. Westergaard in collaboration with Friedrich von Spiegel in the Catalogue of the Indian manuscripts of the Royal Library: *Codices indici Bibliothecae Regiae Havni ensis*, Havniae 1846. The first Pali text published in Europe was F. Spiegel's *Anecdota Palica* which appeared from Leipzig in 1845. The textual portions of it were printed in Devanagari characters. The credit of publishing the full text of the *Dhammapada* in Roman script with a Latin translation goes to V. Fausböll. It came out in 1855.[1]

The study on the Tibetan sources of Buddhism is associated with the name of Alexander Csoma de Koros who came to India from Hungary in 1823. At Ladakh he studied Tibetan and compiled a grammar and dictionary of the Tibetan language. His works, details of which are given in the subsequent chapters of this book, were all published during the thirties of the nineteenth century, and these heralded new dimensions in the field of Tibetan studies. But it should also be mentioned in this connection that Francesco Orazio della Penna, a Capuchin missionary who lived in Lasha from 1716 to 1732 compiled a Tibetan dictionary of about 35,000 words which was later translated into English by F.C.G. Schroeler in 1826.[2] Penna also translated Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Lam-rim-chen-mo* and the *Prātimokṣa* but these are now lost. His account of Tibetan History was published by Antonio Giorgi in his *Alphabetum Tibetanum Apostolicarum commodo editum*, Rome 1762. Another Jesuit missionary Ippolito Desideri, who stayed in Lasha from 1717 to 1721, acquired a direct knowledge of Tibetan language, literature and religion and wrote a book in 1729 on Tibetan custom and religion.[3] Benjamin Bergman translated

[1]For studies on Pali texts see ch. VIII.

[2]*A Dictionary of Bhotanta or Boutan Language*, Serampore, 1826.

[3]The MS. was discovered in 1875 by C. Puini who published its extracts in

several Kalmyk texts and published a big work in 1804-05 which became an important source for the study of religion and rituals as practised by the Kalmyks living between the Volga and the Don and of Lamaism in general.[1] He also understood the importance of studying Mongolian sources. I.J. Schmidt (1779-1847) made a thorough study of the Mongolian and Tibetan sources, and besides his *Life of Buddha* mentioned above be published several articles between 1832 and 1837 on Tibetan sources of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

B.H. Hodgson who stayed in Nepal as British Resident between 1821 and 1843 made a vast collection of Sanskrit Buddhist texts which he presented to the libraries of London, Paris and Calcutta. 88 manuscripts were sent by him to Paris in 1837, and this offered Burnouf a great scope of studying Sanskrit materials directly. In 1839 he translated into French the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* which was printed in 1841, but came to light in 1852. Burnouf believed that it would be possible to find the primitive elements of Buddhism in that which was common to both the Sanskrit and the Pali texts. So far as the Chinese sources are concerned Abel Remusat's French translation of Fa-hien's *Fo-Kuo-ki* was published from Paris in 1836. His successor Stanislas Julien translated the *Life of Hiuen Tsang* and his *Si-yu-ki* (1853, 1857-58). Studies in the Simhalese, Burmese and Siamise sources were made respectively by R. Spence Hardy, P. Bigandet and H. Alabaster.

Ernst Windisch's work on Indian philology and literature (1917-21) contains much information on Buddhist studies in Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century. Since then there were many stray attempts to present the results of the studies in different fields of Buddhism from time to time.[2] From all these and other sources, it

1904. An incomplete English version of this book was published in 1931 by F. de Filippi under the title *An Account of Tibet: The Travels of Ippolito Desideri*, 2nd ed., 1937. A complete and annotated edition of the original has been published by Luciano Petech in his volumes (1953 ff) on documents relating to the Christian missions in Tibet and Nepal.

[1]Benjamin Bergmann, *Nomadische Streiferein unter den Kälmüken in den Jahren 1802 and 1803*, Riga, 1804-05, reprint, Oosterhout, 1969. cf. *Indo-Iranian Journal*, XIV, 1972, pp. 265-67.

[2]Among such recent attempts the most significant one is that made by E. Conze in 1967 in his book entitled *Thirty Years of Buddhist Research*. Within the span of only 32 pages Conze has made a critical evaluation of the main trends of recent researches relating to the formation of the Buddhist canon,

may be stated that during the first fifty years of Buddhist researches, the various traditions, so widely different from one another, in connection with the sources of Buddhism had been clarified. The legendary data in regard to the life and achievements of the Buddha had been examined with the purpose of making a distinction between the mythical and historical elements contained in them. Attempts were also made to settle up the question of the chronology of Buddhism and to distinguish a primitive Buddhism from the doctrines grossly altered at a later period. The growth of different Buddhist sects and their doctrines, the rise of Mahāyāna with its increasing emphasis on the negation of substance itself, and a corresponding mythological development to this speculative philosophy, were also brought to light. It was also demonstrated that early Buddhism was by its very nature opposed to Brahmanism and that its followers formed a congregation, the object of which was to realise a perfect life into which members were admitted only after the performance of certain vows and rites and from which they could not return without becoming renegades. The historical process through which the geographical expansion of Buddhism outside India was possible was also understood to a considerable extent.

E. Conze has divided the course of Buddhist researches into three distinct schools: the older Anglo German School of Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenberg which based itself solely on the Pali canon, believed to have preserved the Buddha's doctrines more faithfully than

the problems connected with pre-Aśoken Buddhism and the inadequacies in the field of Mahāyanic studies. William Peiris's *The Western Contribution to Buddhism*, Delhi, 1973, is a very interesting work giving biographical sketches of almost all the western scholars who, over a period of one and a half centuries, have made a distinct contribution towards the furtherance of Buddhist studies. This book also takes into account the impact of these scholars on the modern western thought. It also gives a list of the complete publications of the Pali Text Society. J.W. de Jong's *A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America*, Varanasi, 1976, has been referred to above. The first chapter of this book deals briefly with the earlier Western knowledge about Buddhism as gleaned from different sources. Greater details have been furnished in relation to Buddhist studies between 1826 and 1877 in which Burnouf was the dominating figure. The second chapter begins in 1877 and ends about 1942. This period witnesses the work of such great scholars as Sylvain Lévi, Vallee Poussin, H. Oldenberg, Th. Stcherbatsky and the Rhys Davids couple. The third chapter deals with the most recent period, whereas the final chapter sketches some of the tasks which will require the attention of scholars in coming years.

any other; the Russian School headed by Minayeff, Rosenberg, Stcherbatsky and others which depended on the scholastic literature of Buddhism and interpreted its different aspects in close dependence not only on the Indian commentaries but also on the continuous living tradition of Tibet, Mongolia, China and Japan; and the Franco-Belgian School headed by Lèvi, Vallee Poussin, Przyluski and others which continued on the Russian line but used other sources also supplementing their philosophical and philological analysis with the data of ethnology, sociology, etc. This division is based upon the preference and insistence of each school of scholars in relation to the typical nature of the source materials they were in the habit of use. In the earlier stages of Buddhist research, the comparative study of the Sanskrit and Pali redactions was made for settling the question of their relative age and authority, and accordingly Sanskrit came to be regarded as the sacred language of the Northern Buddhists (i.e., those of Nepal, Tibet, China, Japan, Vietnam, Cambodia and Indonesia) while Pali as that of the Southern (i.e., of Ceylon, Burma and Siam). It should be pointed out in this connection that although the existence of Pali was recognised by European scholars since 1826, in the earlier phases of Buddhist research Sanskritic sources (i.e., those translated into Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian) played a more prominent role. The Russian school, i.e., scholars of St. Petersburg, took a very active and enthusiastic part in the study of Tibetan Buddhist sources, as a result of which, during the first fifty years of Buddhist research, much about the Mahāyāna tradition and its Tantric ramifications came to light.

The changes that have taken place in the study of Buddhism are largely due to the piecemeal way in which the original documents have been brought to light. Remusat and Schmidt, the predecessors of Burnouf, drew all their inspiration respectively from Chinese and Tibeto-Mongolian sources. Burnouf himself depended more on Sanskritic sources of the later period. The situation, however, changed after the discovery of a complete canon in Pali. This new development contributed to a number of theoretical formulations among the Buddhist researchers which eventually led to a kind of grouping, one claiming for the absolute authority of the Pali canon in determining the original character of Buddhism, and the other depending mainly on the Sanskritic sources. For its having a complete canon, Pali was subsequently accorded a special position, and despite the

correct idea on the basis of Tibetan and Chinese translations of the existence of a complete Sanskrit canon of the Sarvāstivāda, fragments of which have come to light, the claim of the Sanskritists remained rather feeble until Vallee Poussin and Stcherbatsky pointed out that mere existence of the complete Theravāda canon does not prove its relative antiquity and primitivity.[1] Subsequent researches prove that although some Pali works were translated into Sanskrit a good number of works may be cited which bear neither the stamp of Sanskrit Mahāyāna, nor that of Pali Theravāda. These belong to the canon of the Sarvāstivāda and other kindred schools. These schools might have translated their scriptures not from the Pali of the Theravādins but from the Prakrit dialects in which they were originally composed. Even the Pali canon might have been the development of a still earlier canon composed in any form of Prakrit.[2]

The fact that there was a long time-gap between the days of the Buddha and the formation of canonical literature, that the present threefold division was artificial made only after the actual production of the majority of the texts concerned, and that something must have existed as the original canon before the days of Aśoka had been taken seriously into account by all critical and competent scholars of Buddhism, and all of them unanimously held that a comparative study of the texts belonging to different Buddhist sects was necessary to settle up the points of resemblance and divergence in their contents by which a chronological stratification for the reconstruction of the history of the earliest phase of Buddhism would be possible and that some idea of the original Buddhist canon, supposed to have existed before the days of Aśoka, could be obtained. Previously the

[1]The following had expressed great doubt about the authenticity of the Pali canon. Minayeff, *Recherches sur le Bouddisme*, Paris, 1894; A. Barth in *Revue de l' historie des Religions*, Paris, 1882-1900, Tomes 5, 28, 42; V.A. Smith in *Ind. Ant.* XXXII, 1903, pp. 364 ff; Vallee Poussin in *Le Museon*, 1905, pp. 213 ff; *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVII, 1908, pp. 1 ff, 81 ff; *ERE*, IV, pp. 179ff; *Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1909, pp. 29 ff, 155, 166 ff, 248; R.O. Franke in *JPIS*, 1908, pp. 1-80; A.B. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1923, pp. 3, 16ff.

[2]This view was previously put forward by M. Winternitz in his *History of Indian Literature*, II, pp. 12 ff, and subsequently stressed by H. Lueders in his *Beobachtungen uber die Sprache des buddhistischen kanons*, Berlin, 1954, who defended the view that the Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist texts show traces of the existence of a primitive canon (*Urkanon*) written in an eastern dialect which may be called Ardhamāgadhī.

task of comparison between the Pali and Sanskrit texts for the sake of establishing the older and common elements was undertaken by Burnouf, Senart, Oldenberg and Windisch. The discovery of the Sanskrit fragments in Central Asia and their comparison with parallel texts in Pali, Chinese and Tibetan has in some cases yielded tangible results.

In 1956 E. Frauwallner in his *Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature* (Rome) had sought to prove that before the time of Aśoka was produced a great work, the *Skandhaka*, which divided and arranged the enormous materials concerning monastic rules according to a well conceived plan and also regulated and formulated institutions of Buddhist monastic life, the admission to the order, the confession ceremonies, the retirement during the rainy season and at the same time discussed clothing, food and drugs for the sick as well as the rules to be observed in the punishment of the offenders. This formulation was rejected by Lamotte[1] on certain technical grounds, though the hypothesis in itself cannot be ruled out. The main problem is whether we can distinguish within the accepted Tripiṭaka things which are earlier and later. So far as the Pali texts are concerned, this is, however, possible to a certain extent. The study in Vinaya in itself has some initial advantages. Since we have in the Chinese the Mahāsaṅghika recension of the Vinaya piṭaka the position is more favourable for it than for the Sūtras. The Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya compared with that of the Sthaviras shows that both the versions are in close agreement regarding the major disciplinary rules. Other fragmentary Vinayas of different schools also point to the same.[2] The present forms of the texts and, where texts are not available, or available only in fragments, those of the translations, bear testimony of additions, interpolations and accretions, and since there was no centralised control to prevent this, they came to disagree on numerous points. But do their disagreement affect the fundamental doctrines? Even now we are not in a position to give a categorical answer to this question.

The researches of Franklin Edgarton on Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit have also thrown some significant light on the process of the

[1] *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, I, pp. 194-97.

[2] See also E. Mayeda, *History of the Formation of the Original Buddhist Texts*, Tokyo, 1964.

formation of Buddhist canon,[1] and evoked much interest among the scholars.[2] Edgarton divides the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit into three classes; the first containing texts entirely in Hybrid Sanskrit; the second containing verses in Hybrid Sanskrit but the prose portions showing few signs of Middle Indic phonology and morphology with vocabulary basically of Hybrid Sanskrit; and the third containing text Sanskritised, the vocabulary only showing relics of Hybrid Sanskrit tradition. From this Edgarton concludes that the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit tradition goes back to an early Buddhist canon which was originally composed in a middle Indic language containing dialect mixture. This mixture of dialects was subjected to a process of Sanskritisation when the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit texts were written. Some of his critics agree on this point with Edgardon, but they are not willing to accept that the prose of the works of the second class and the works of the third class belong to the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit tradition. According to them these texts were written in a class of Sanskrit which contains some elements of Hybrid forms.[3] Another objection raised against Edgarton in his use of

[1] F. Edgarton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, New Haven, 1953. For his articles on Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit see *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, I, 1936, pp. 65-83; *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VIII, 1936, pp. 501-516; *Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume*, Madras, 1936, pp. 39-45; *Language*, XIII, 1937, pp. 107-122; XXII, 1946, 94-102; *JAOS*, LVII, 1937, pp. 16-34, 185-188; LXVI, 1946, pp. 197-206; LXXII, 1952, pp. 114-117; LXXVII, 1957, pp. 227-232 etc. For a complete bibliography of Edgarton's publications see *Language*, XI, 1964, pp. 116-123.

[2] Akira Yuyama in his *Bibliography of the Sanskrit Texts* of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*, Canbera, 1970, pp. 80-81 records nineteen reviews of Edgarton's *Grammar and Dictionary* and several articles written in its reaction. His views have been seriously discussed and analysed, often with criticisms by Helmer Smith in *Les deux prosodies du vers bouddhique*, Lund, 1950, *Analecta rhytmica*, Helsinki, 1954 and *Orientalia suecana*, II, 1953, pp. 119-28; III, 1954, pp. 31-35, IV, 1955, pp. 109-113, by E. Waldschmidt in *Das Mahāvadānasūtra*, II, Berlin, 1960, pp. 59-62, by Heinz Bechert in *Bruchstüke buddhistischer Verssammlungen*, I, Berlin, 1961, p. 26 and *Uber die 'Marburger Fragmente' des Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, Göttingen, 1972, p. 70, and by Franz Bernhard in *Udānavarga*, Göttingen, 1965, pp. 16-20.

[3] J. Brough in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XVI, 1954, pp. 351-375; L. Renou, *Histoire de la langue sanskrite*, Paris, 1956, p. 209; C. Regamey in *Asiatica: Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, Leipzig, 1954, pp. 514-27.

Nepalese manuscripts, scribal errors of which are likely to be confused with Hybrid Sanskrit.[1] According to Edgarton in the case of such texts as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the *Vajracchedika* and the *Udānavarga* the Central Asian manuscripts show a more Mid-Indic appearance than the Nepalese manuscripts, but Regamey holds that these texts have not been submitted to a process of Sanskritisation, but copyists have corrected the texts. These problems may, however, be studied in greater details only when all the fragments from Gilgit and Central Asia and also the Nepalese manuscripts will be properly edited. One should not fail to recall in this connection that Edgarton has insisted on a Mid-Indic vernacular as the original language of the Buddhist canon. This goes against the view of H. Lueders who maintained that portions of the Pali and Sanskrit canon were translated from an earlier Ardhamāgadhī source.

On Central Asian findings we have devoted a complete chapter.[2] The earlier discoveries of manuscripts in Central Asia led to the organisation of several expeditions conducted by Sir Aurel Stein (three expeditions between 1900 and 1916), four German expeditions led by Albert Grunwedel and Georg Huth (1902-03), Von Le Cog (1904-05), Le Cog and Grunwedel (1905-07) and Le Cog (1913-14), one French expedition led by P. Pelliot (1906 08), three Japanese expeditions (1902-04, 1908-09, 1910-13) and three Russian expeditions, the first by D. Klementz (1898), the second and third led by Serge Oldenburg (1909-10, 1914-15).[3] In the last thirty years great progresss

[1]For details see Jong, op. cit., pp. 55 ff. [2]See ch. VII.

[3]Other expeditions are mentioned by Jack A. Dabbs, *History of the Discovery and Explorations of Chinese Turkestan*, The Hague, 1963. A bibliography of Central Asiatic studies has been published in the first volume of the *Monumenta Serindica*, Kyoto, 1958, pp. 53-87. All Sanskrit fragments published by the German scholars from 1904 to 1964 are listed in Waldschmidt's *Sanskritbandschriften aus des Turfanfunden*, Wiesbaden, 1965, pp. XXVI-XXXII (for the years from 1964 to 1970 see ibid, III, 1971, pp. 275-76). Sanskrit fragments of Pelliot Collection have been listed by Bernard Pauly in *Journal Asiatique* 1965, pp. 83-121. Yamada's *Bongo butten no śhobunken*, Kyoto, 1959, contains list of Sanskrit fragments belonging to the London, Leningrad and Japan collections. For Kuchean and Agnean: Ernst Schwentner, *Tocharische Bibliographie 1890-1958*, Berlin 1959. Sogdian and Khotanese: M.J. Dresden in *Jaarbericht van het vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap Ex Oriente Lux*, No. 8, 1942, pp. 729-37, No. 9, 1944, pp. 200-06 and L.G. Gercenberg, *Xotano-Sakskij jazyk*, Moscow, 1965, pp. 16-29; Uigur: R. Loewenthal, *The Turkic Languages and Literatures of Central Asia*, The Hague, 1957.

has been made with the publication of the Sanskrit manuscripts from Turfan. Sanskrit fragments from the Pelliot collection in Paris have been edited by Bernard Pauly.[1] The progress of studies in the field of Tibetan sources has been recorded in a separate chapter. After Sarat Chandra Das and Rahul Sankrityayana, Giuseppe Tucci undertook several expeditions to Tibet and brought back many valuable materials on Tibetan Buddhist literature and art.[2] In the field of Chinese sources the researches of Paul Pelliot and Paul Damieville have enhanced much of our knowledge.[3]

Now we shall say something about the historical problems and gaps in the field of Buddhist studies. As regards the origins of Buddhism we have absolutely no clear idea. The second chapter of this book deals with the problem at length. One of the popular views developed by the some of the nineteenth century scholars was that the rise of Buddhism was due to a reaction against the mechanical sacerdotalism of the Brahmanical cults. The revolt came not only from the Buddha but also from his contemporaries. The Buddhist and Jain texts mention numerous philosophical schools, basically anti-Vedic in character, current during the days of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. Thus the conclusion was naturally drawn that in the later Vedic age there was a mass protest, especially in Eastern India, against the Brahmanical cults and rituals, which was headed by personalities like the Buddha, or Mahāvīra who introduced new forms of religion based solely upon some fundamental ethical principles. Another group of scholars held that Buddhism was a more ancient form of religion based on a cult of Buddha from the very beginning. This was a popular religion which guaranteed a happy heavenly life to the devotees who followed its moral rules. This popular Buddhism was reflected in the Aśokan edicts. The concept of Nirvāṇa and other abstruse metaphysical ideas were interpolated at a later age, and the

[1]*Journal Asiatique*, 1965, pp. 116-119, 183-187; 1966, pp. 245-304; 1967. pp. 231-241.

[2]G. Tucci, *Opera minora*, I, Rome, 1971, pp. XI-XVIII.

[3]Pelliot's contribution to Buddhist studies up to 1928 has been given in the *Bibliographic bouddhique*, IV-V, Paris, 1934, pp. 3-19. His important publications since 1928 has been recorded by Demieville in *Paul Pelliot*, Paris, 1946, pp. 29-54. The recently published *Choix d'etudes bouddhiques*, Leiden 1973 contains some of the contributions of Demieville (the chief editor of the *Hobogirin*) to Buddhist studies.

historical Buddha, considered as a human incarnation of the divine Buddha, might have something to do with these new-fangled ideas. During the thirties of this century R.P. Chanda suggested that the ideas by which Buddhism was distinguished were originally pre-Vedic ideas which were subsequently crushed by the upholders of Brahmanism and that the Buddha in a changed social set-up revived those older ideas once again. In recent years there has been a tendency to describe Buddhism a thing of mystic experience right from the very beginning.

There are numerous works on the life and teachings of the Buddha. The historical facts of the Buddha's life are practically beyond the reach of scholars and hence they have to depend exclusively on the legends. Scholars in this field have wanted to separate facts from legends. In the second chapter we have referred to most of the works done in this field. Of the important works published in recent years mention may be made of A. Foucher's *La vie du bouddha* (Paris 1949) which is important not only for a critical review of the literary sources of the Buddha legends, but for the use of archaeological materials as well. E. Lamotte in his history of Indian Buddhism (1958) has distinguished five successive stages in the development of the Buddha legends.[1] A Bareau has made an extensive work on the biography of the Buddha[2] which is based upon a critical review of the information contained in the Sūtras and also in the Vinayas of the Theravādins, Mahiśāsakas and Dharmaguptakas as well as the Sanskrit *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* and parallel texts. But in spite of these valuable works the historical suggestivity of the Buddha legends as well as the doctrines of Buddha have not been properly studied or interpreted in terms of the actual social problems of Buddha's time. Also the tribal basis of the essential doctrines of the Buddha and of the rules relating to the Buddhist Saṅgha, although pointed by some authorities, have not been studied seriously.

The study of the history of Buddhism, its expansion and gradual transformation is really important, and we have numerous works on this subject based upon all sorts of textual evidence. Special emphasis in such works is laid upon the councils, the contributions of the

[1]E. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme Indien*, I, Louvain, 1958, pp. 718-33.

[2]*Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapiṭaka et les Vinayapiṭaka anciens*, Paris, 1963, 1970, 1971.

kings like Aśoka or Kaṇiṣka to the cause of the expansion of Buddhism, its expansion in northern and southern countries, and its principal schools and sects in India and elsewhere. Thanks to the untiring efforts of competent scholars who left no stone unturned in comparing various Buddhist traditions relating to the aforesaid subjects, details of which are given in the third chapter of this book, we have now a fair idea of what happened in Buddhism, but we are absolutely in dark as to why and how did they happen. We know that the original Buddhist church was split up into different groups which in their turn were again subdivided, but we do not know the exact causes; and those found in the texts and their commentaries are frankly superficial. In some cases evidently there were doctrinal differences, but in most of the cases the causes are unknown, and these are to be sought not in the sacred literature of the Buddhists but in the existing social and other problems for which different types of materials should be handled. For example, in India the Buddhist conception of Ahiṃsā had accelerated the habit of vegetarianism, but not that in China or Japan. This implies that the rules differed from place to place, and what was known as the Buddhist way of life was not same in all places and was conditioned by demands of different types of social systems, and when such differences became very wide they naturally gave birth to conflicts. The documents regarding the second Buddhist council clearly demonstrate that there was conflict between rural and urban ideas. There were many other causes of schism and the formation of different groups and sub-groups. Sometimes groupism developed only on geographical considerations as we find in the case of the Haimavatas.

So far as the study of the Mahāyāna Buddhism is concerned, Conze has given a dark picture, but his emphasis is only on the texts and doctrinal aspects. But there is reason to believe that the Tibetan and Chinese studies of the last 150 years have given us sufficient materials for a proper understanding of some aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism. At least we know how the Mahāyānists deified the Buddha, introduced the ideal of Bodhisattvahood and mixed up a strange doctrine of vacuity with the theoretical set-up of Buddhism. Discovery of new texts or critical analysis of surviving texts will not add much to our knowledge so far as these principles of Mahāyānism are concerned. We have also a fair idea about the process through which the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas were multiplied, how female deities as consorts

of the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas came into existence as a result of the compromise of the Mahāyānists with the local cults, beliefs and practices and how the Tantric undercurrent devoured the essence of Mahāyānism and changed it beyond recognition yielding numerous forms of esoteric schools. But the aspect on which light has not been thrown is the social basis of Mahāyānism. The introduction of the doctrine of vacuity or *Śūnyavāda* cut into pieces the very root of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* according to which things are dependently originated and hence guided by the law of causation. And this law of causation has been discarded by the Mahāyānist philosophers who hold that things are void, because what is produced by concurrent causes *is not produced by itself* and hence *does not exist in itself*. So nothing can exist in reality. What seems to be existing is nothing but a more illusion, as false as the beauty of the daughter of a barren woman. The reason for describing the worldly existence as void existence must have some social basis because we find that in other contemporary systems also this very outlook, that of denying the objective existence of the world, is the guiding principle. These are not unconnected features in the history of the development of Indian thought. In other words, the birth of what is known as *idealism* in philosophy has to be traced through a comparative study of the philosophical treatises of the Mahāyāna and its contemporary non-Buddhist systems and also of the corresponding social phenomenon which gave rise to such ideas. To what extent the Mahāyāna was a negation of other forms of Buddhism is also to be studied.

The anomalies and contradictions in Buddhist thought and the accretions which covered up the kernel of Buddhism have never been seriously discussed. The Buddhist philosophers rejected the concept of god, but they did not care to reject the allied illusions and superstitions. Thus we find that, in the same monastery where the top-logicians were engaged in subtle philosophical discussions and controversies, others were engaged in performing most meaningless rites and ceremonies offering worship to numerous gods, demigods, goblins, nymphs and so forth, indulging themselves in orgiastic practices associated with the concepts of *mudrā* and *maṇḍala* and the like. It is tempting to ask whether these superstitions were actively patronised by the higher authorities with a deliberate purpose or whether the rationalisation of superstitions by attributing to them metaphysical significance was expected to create favourable

grounds for the doctrine of vacuity preached from the upper levels, or are we to follow Alberuni's line of argument and hold that the Higher Buddhists did not care to impart to the Lower what they themselves had learnt through study and meditation, implying that the Buddhist Saṅghas ultimately became class-oriented? Or are we to conclude that the uneven development of Indian social life which is a permanent feature of the history of India from the earliest period to modern times, also held good in the case of the Buddhist Saṅghas?

The decline of Buddhism in India is a subject on which many works have been done. But the entire subject requires reconsideration. First, was it really Buddhism that declined in India after the fall of the Pāla empire? What was then the real condition of Buddhism? Was it not a bundle of popular cults and superstitions which could be called in any name? True, there were some monasteries, patronised by kings and landlords, and also a monkish culture proclaiming the world as a void entity. But had they any following outside the church as we find in the case of the Jains or the Christians? Among the Jains, monastic life and public life are interlinked, the rules for monks and laymen being the same, varying in degree only, and this accounts for their survival as on organised religion. But the Buddhist monks were parasites living on the financial support of the kings and landlords, and as soon as this financial support was withdrawn, monks of the great monasteries at once turned into beggars of the street, for whom none was to shed tears. Had Buddhism in its later forms been an organised religion with followers among the people, it could not perish all on a sudden. History shows that even small religions in the face of wildest persecution could maintain their independent entity, and persecution made them even stronger. Apart from this, there are many other causes inherent in the character of Buddhism itself, one of which being transformation, both in form and in content on every turning point. From the very beginning Buddhism could not avoid fundamental changes within. In all stages the earlier forms were negated by the later forms, a study of which has never been seriously undertaken.

The relation between Buddhism and popular cults if understood in the proper way will help to discover the historical process through which Mahāyāna Buddhism evolved and gave birth to various forms of esoteric cults. Of course we have a few works done on this

subject, but they are mostly superficial since they were mainly drawn upon the evidence of speculative character. It has been suggested that Mahāyāna Buddhism, in order to get itself popular among the masses, compromised with the local and tribal religions and adopted within its fold their cults and rituals. To what extent this was done is to be evaluated, and in doing so we want, on the one hand, a clear idea of the history and prehistory of the gods and goddesses who graced the Mahāyāna pantheon and, on the other, the origin of the rites and ceremonies, especially the Tantric ones, which were also accepted by the Mahāyānists. What part did these accretions play in the late medieval religions after the official decline of Buddhism in India should also be noted and explained. Primitive Buddhism was negated by Hīnayāna, the latter by Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna, and other forms which did not require the official stamp of Buddhism. But despite such negations the residues of the earlier forms did not cease to exist and these had a vital role in shaping the fundamentals of medieval religious systems, a point which has hitherto been generally ignored.

At the same time fresh light is to be thrown upon the relation between early Buddhism and other contemporary monastic and non-monastic systems. As we have noted above, some scholars hold that early Buddhism revived some pre-Vedic ideas. Since early Buddhism is believed to cherish a hostile attitude towards Vedism, the above supposition is likely, but no one has as yet taken the trouble of finding out the supposed pre-Vedic elements contained in early Buddhism. Secondly the relation between Brahmanism and Buddhism has so long rested upon some over-simplified notions. How close they came to each other in course of their subsequent history has never been demonstrated. Historically it is a fact that the Brāhmaṇa converts could easily take the lead of the Buddhist church owing to their literacy and intellectual attainments. Not only did they bring Sanskrit, but incorporated their traditional ideas and metaphysical terms and concepts within the frame of Buddhism. Its consequences has not been properly evaluated. So far as the organised religions were concerned, Jainism was a rival of Buddhism. Both of them, having numerous common elements, originated out of the same historical environment, but they survived in Indian religious history as separate streams. We possess no significant work dealing with their mutual relationship in doctrinal matters, monastic organisations and

other kindred subjects. Likewise, in what relation did Buddhism stand with Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism has not been seriously worked out, in spite of the fact that both of these religions were immensely influenced by Buddhist ideas and practices.

Lastly, the functional role of Buddhism in India has never been worked out by any scholar or historian. Works have been done on the doctrinal sides of Buddhism, the Buddhist monastic system, sects, schools, art, and even social life as reflected in Buddhist texts, but we have no work dealing with what Buddhism actually did in Indian history. To what extent Buddhism could transform the existing pattern of society? Buddhism survived in India for a period not less than 1500 years. During this long period of its existence, what was its impact upon Indian society and life? How far Buddhism could change the class-oriented society, the patriarchal values, the political and economic set up? Did the Buddhist kings follow anything like the code of Manu? Since the Brahmanical ideal of kingship was to maintain *Caturvarṇa*, i.e., caste system, and Buddhism was opposed to the caste system, and since Brahmanical laws were prejudiced by the question of caste (e.g., a Brāhmaṇa can not be given capital punishment) what the Buddhist kings used to do in such cases when the criminal was a Brāhmaṇa and the crime was sufficient for capital punishment? Many such questions can be raised and we must have to get their answers. Since many of the ancient Indian kings were Buddhists, the question of the relation between Buddhism and the political systems and processes automatically becomes important. Hence it is necessary to investigate the relations between Buddhist doctrines and political theories and also between Buddhism and the state from the viewpoint of practical politics. Here Buddhism should be viewed in terms of its triple constituents—the Saṅgha, the individual monks and the laymen. From the surviving Buddhist states these relations may be traced no doubt, but how all these relations functioned in ancient India under the Buddhist and non-Buddhist kings is a subject of vast enquiry. Likewise, how far the economic ideals upheld by Buddhism could be followed in ancient India, how far could they change the economic structure of society and improve or damage the existing modes of production, and also to what extent under the influence of Buddhism the occupational groups of the older tradition engaged in different branches of production were encouraged or handicapped are subjects on which light should be thrown.

Chapter 2

In Quest of a Historical Buddha and of His Original Teachings

The purpose of this chapter is to present a systematic picture of researches on the life of the Buddha and the problems involved therein. It is not on exaggeration to state that the doctrines ascribed to the Buddha are better known than the details of his life. In fact, despite the existence of numerous works on the life of the Buddha, the historical facts of his life are practically beyond the reach of the scholars, and hence they have to depend exclusively on legends. Scholars in this field have tried to separate facts from legends, but the extent and nature of their success have not been fully established from a purely historical point of view.[1]

The Buddha-legends were first handled by the great explorer B.H. Hodgson, the British Resident of Nepal, who on the basis of Nepalese Sanskrit Manuscripts published in 1830 made a sketch of Buddhism

[1]The Pali sources of the life of the Buddha are the *Majjhima Nikāya* (No. 12 *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta*, 'great discourse on lion's roar,' containing a vivid description of the Buddha's severe austerities before the enlightenment; No. 26 *Ariyapariesana-sutta*, 'discourse on the Aryan quest; and No. 36 *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*,' 'greater discourse to Saccaka' containing the story of the Buddha from the great renunciation upto the first sermon, including some aspects of his private life. *The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings* tr. by I.B. Horner, PTS, tr. series No. 29, 1954), the *Dīgha Nikāya* (No. 16 *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* containing a fairly detailed narration of the final stage of the Buddha's life and his last journey, tr. T.W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1966 reprint, III), the *Mahāvagga* (*The Book of Discipline*, tr. I.B. Horner, 1962, containing an account of his enlightenment up to the time of sending out sixty disciple as missionaries), the *Nidāna-Katha* (*The Buddhist Birth Stories*, tr. by T.W. Rhys Davids 1880, new ed. by C.A.F. Rhys Davids 1925 containing the Buddha's life with accompanying legends and miracles up to the time of the acceptance of the Jetavana monastery in Sāvatthi), etc. Sanskrit works dealing with the Buddha's legendary career are the well known *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistara*, *Buddhacarita*, etc.

with references to some aspects of the Buddha's career.[1] The next writer was Alexander Csoma de Koros whose *Notices on the life of Shakya extracted from the Tibetan Authorities* came out in 1836. The work was based upon the Tibetan translations of some Sanskrit Mahayanic texts in which the divine character of the Buddha was stressed in greater detail. Works and collections of Hodgson and Csoma were the main sources of Eugene Burnouf's history of Buddhism, *Introduction a l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien* (1844) in which the author considered the Buddha as a deified human being of uncertain identity. Although Burnouf had some idea of the Pali sources, which may be exemplified with reference to his article on Pali, written in collaboration with Lassen and published as early as 1826, and to the incorporation of an imperfect version of the *Sāmaññaphalasutta* in his another work,[2] his emphasis was on the Sanskritic sources. The next important work was Anton Schiefner's abridged translation (1845) of a work written in Tibetan in 1734 by a Buddhist monk named Ratnadharmarāja. It was a life of the Buddha chiefly based on the legendary *Lalitavistara*.[3] In 1847 was published Ph. E. Foucaux's *Rgya-Tcher-Rol-pa* which was the French translation of the *Lalitavistara* from Tibetan.

The emphasis on Sanskrit Mahayanic tradition, on which the Tibetan and Chinese sources are mainly based, did not help very much in reconstructing a historical biography of the Buddha. This was due to the fact that the purpose of the Sanskrit texts like the *Lalitavistara* or the *Buddhacarita* (an imitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*) was to deny the human existence of the Buddha. In the earlier phases of Buddhist research, the Pali sources were not seriously utilised. George Turnour's publication of the *Mahāvaṃsa* in 1836, and his edition and translation of several discourses of the Buddha, although laid the basis of a historical approach to the Buddha's career, prior to the publication of the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* (1872-73) by R.C. Childers with text, translation and commentary, very little of the Pali materials relating to the career of the Buddha had really come to light because, even when works on Pali sources were on a speedy move, the texts

[1]*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, II, pp. 222ff.

[2]*Lotus de la bonne Loi*, Paris, 1852, pp. 448ff.

[3]The title of Schiefner's work was *Eine Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Cakyamuni's*. It was published in *Memoirs presentes par divers Savants a l'Academie Imperiale de St. Petersbourg*, VI, 1851, pp. 231–332.

from which the career of the Buddha was extracted were the Jātakas, and these texts, as is known to all, were products of pure imagination, being tales of the supposed anterior births of the Buddha.

Outside Europe, it was Spence Hardy who worked with some Pali and local materials relating to the life of the Buddha. His *Eastern Monachism* came out in 1850 (reprinted in 1853 and 1860) which had been described by the author as 'an account of the origin, laws, discipline and sacred writings . . . . of the order of the mendicants founded by Gotama Buddha compiled from Singhalese sources.' But the texts which he had taken into consideration in this work were the Ceylonese books most of which were dated after the twelfth century AD. In such works, as is natural to expect, the historical and human elements were greatly obliterated. In 1858, P. Bigandet, the Vicar apostolic of Ava and Pegu, published his *Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese*. It was practically an English translation of the Burmese translation of a Pali work called by Bigandet *Mallalinkara Wouttu* (Mālālaṅkāra-vatthu), the date and author's name of which are not known. The Burmese translation was made in 1773, and prior to Bigandet an English translation of this work was made in 1853 by Chester Bennet.[1] Bigandet's *Life* agrees not only throughout its main features, but even word for word, in many passages, with the Jātaka-commentary (*Nidāna kathā*) written in Ceylon probably about the fifth century.

These works, although presented some materials of the Buddha's career, were not sufficient to establish his human existence. The scope of free speculations was immense, and scholars in this field, for the paucity of materials, resorted to pure imagination, to prove or unprove the historical existence of the Buddha. Thus H.H. Wilson in his *Buddha and Buddhizm*,[2] held it "not impossible after all, that Śākya Muni was an unreal being, and that all that is related of him is as much as a fiction as that of his preceding migrations." V.P. Vasilev (W. Wassiljew) in his celebrated *Buddhism : ego dogmati istoria i literatura* (1859) and E. Schlagintweit in his *Buddhism in Tibet* (1863), although described the life of the Buddha from Tibetan sources, preferred to keep themselves silent on the question of the historicity of the Buddha. On the other hand, C.F. Köppen in his

[1] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, III, 1853.
[2] Published in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1856, pp. 229ff.

Religion des Buddha (2 Vols. 1857-59) went many steps forward, even far beyond the range of speculation that might be provided through the then available materials, and declared that the Buddha was not only a historical person but also he was the greatest emancipator of the oppressed, the greatest revolutionary and the greatest political innovator of his time.[1] A few other European scholars, like Schoebel in his *La Buddha et la Bouddhisme* (1857), Berthelemy Saint Hilaire in his *Le Buddha et sa Religion* (1860), T.D. Alwis in his *Buddhism, Its Origin, History and Doctrine* (1862), H. Alabaster in his *Wheel of Law* (based on Siamese sources 1872) and L. Feer in his articles published between 1866 and 1878 in the *Journal Asiatique*, felt the problem of the Buddha's historical biography more seriously. Of these writers, Berthelemy Saint Hilaire, the English translation of whose work came out in 1895, made a very ambitious attempt to reconstruct a complete life history of the Buddha. Widely acclaimed at the time of its first publication, his work gradually came to be treated with diminishing importance, because of its highly speculative nature.

The difficulties relating to the historical biography of the Buddha, confronted by the earlier writers and also by the subsequent researchers, were due to the fact that the available documents did not in themselves form a basis for a historical account. Volume One of V. Fousböll's *Jātaka* (1877) contained a biography of the Buddha saturated with legendary elements. The first part of the Pali Jātaka commentary, the *Nidāna Kathā*, was translated into English by T.W. Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist Birth Stories* (1878) which gives word for word almost the whole of the life of the Buddha which was previously given by Turnour in his *Pali Buddhist Annals*.[2] It gives an account of the Buddha down to the events after the enlightenment but at the same time records fantastic events of his past life. The commentary on the *Buddhavaṃsa* also contains unreliable legends, and on such materials still later works in Simhalese and Burmese are based. In 1875, S. Beal's *Romantic Legends of Sakya Buddha* was published which was based upon the Chinese version of the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sutra* or the narrative of the Call and Retreat. The Sanskrit

[1] It is interesting to note that Köppen was a close friend of Karl Marx and F. Engels, and it is quite likely that the materials of the very interesting pragraph on Buddhism in the latter's *Dialectics in Nature* were supplied by Köppen.
[2] *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, VII, pp. 797ff.

original has not been found, but a work with this title is found in Tibetan. The Chinese translation given by Beal means 'Life of the Buddha and His Disciples'. According to the Chinese translator, it was one of the several Lives of this kind. It gives the story of the Buddha following the *Mahāvastu* tradition. W. Rockhill's *Life of Buddha* (1884), derived from the Tibetan works in the Kanjur and Tanjur, in which translation of important Buddha legends, as found in the Sanskrit tradition preserved in the Tibetan scriptures, are incorporated, also nourished the mythical tradition.

In view of what transpires from the discussion made above we are to evaluate the views of Senart expressed in his *Essai sur la legende du Buddha* (1875) which was mainly based upon the Sanskritic traditions. According to Senart, the Buddha was not a man. A Buddha might have lived somewhere at some period, but the Buddha of whom the Buddhist tradition speaks had never lived. This Buddha was an allegorical figure who was originally a sun-god. Like the sun issuing from the clouds of night, the Buddha was produced from the dark womb of Māyā. The death of Māyā, immediately after the birth of the Buddha, resembled the vanishing of the morning cloud before the sun's rays. Like the sun-hero conquering the thunder-demon the Buddha vanquished Māra and after his victory he set in motion the 'Wheel of Law' that marched triumphantly across the firmament, until at last the day declined and the sun-god succumbs to darkness. The destruction of the Śākyas was the dying away of the power of sun in the blood-red tints of the evening clouds. According to Senart, the fancy of the Buddhists attributed a personality to the allegorical ballad of the life of a sun-god.

Hopkins ridiculed the view of Senart by saying that the career of Napoleon or Max Müller could also be explained in terms of a sun-myth,[1] but the fact remains that, the current legendary narratives preserved in the Sanskrit Mahāyāna tradition or the Pali sources like the Jātakas really cannot help any serious scholar to put his trust upon the historical existence of the Buddha. The problem became serious to the scholars. In 1887 T.W. Rhys Davids published a small book under the title *Buddhism* in which he laid much emphasis on the proper foundation of a scientific study of the Buddha and Buddhism. In 1881 H. Oldenberg's *Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre,*

[1]*Religions of India*, p. 299.

seine Gemeinde was published from Berlin[1] in which he had demolished the sceptical theory of a Solar Buddha put forward by E. Senart and having shifted the legendary elements of the Buddhist tradition on the basis of the earlier Pali sources and corresponding historical evidence had given the most reliable account of the facts concerning the Buddha's life. But J.H.C. Kern in his *Geschiedents van hat Buddhisme in Inde*[2] had followed a line similar to that of Senart and reduced the whole thing in an astronomical account. According to him the twelve *nidānas* symbolised the twelve months, the six heretical teachers, the planets, rebellion of Devadatta, the struggle between the sun and the moon, and so on. The view of Kern was to a great extent supported by Barth who did not even hesitate to consider courtesans as the mother-goddesses. The school headed by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg based itself solely on the Pali canon which was then believed to have preserved more faithfully than any other the 'original', 'pure' and 'true' Buddhism. The last representative of this school was Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids who looked for the original teachings of the Buddha and brought out her thought-provoking *Gotama the Man* (1928), *Śākya or Buddhist Origins* (1931), etc. in which works she raised the all-important question: What was the original message of Buddhism? Even a supporter of the Pali canon, she was confident that the canonical texts themselves were of uncertain date and heterogenous contents and that they did not preach a uniform set of doctrines.

Despite the discovery of a complete Theravādin canon and the functioning of the Pali Text Society, the situation changed very little. In 1915, R. O. Franke had therefore to say. " I should not wish to make it appear as if I believed that we know even the very least about the founder of this doctrine. Naturally somebody (or somebodies) has (or have) created it, otherwise it would not be there. But who this somebody was, and whether there were not rather several somebodies, we have no knowledge."[3] The interesting debate between partisans of the Pali canon and those of the Sanskrit could in the long run produce no tangible effect. in 1927 came out *The Life of Buddha as*

[1]Eng. tr. W. Hoey, 1882.
[2]1882-84, German tr. 1884, French tr. 1901-03.
[3]*ZDMG*, 1915, p. 455; quoted from E.J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 233-34.

Legend and History by E. J. Thomas[1] which is by far the best work on this subject. Thomas also admits that the Pali itself is no primitive record, but the growth of a long tradition in one school and the Sanskrit needs to be equally closely analysed. Side by side he holds that it is impossible to treat the Pali tradition at truncated or perverted form of a nobler teaching and that although the Mahāyāna doctrines are doubtless older than the works in which we find them expounded, they do not belong to the oldest schools. Regarding the problem of the biography of the Buddha, Thomas says: "The matter stands just as in the case of any historical person, say Socrates, Muhammad or Bonaparte. We have many records, many related facts, dates and archaeological remains, as well as the actually existing Buddhistic peoples with their systems. Do these data point to an origin in the growth and spread of a myth, in which the religious belief in a god has been gradually converted into an apparently historical event, or is the basis of a historical person who lived in the sixth century BC?"

Having analysed all the data related to the life of Buddha Thomas is inclined to insist on the second proposition that the events related to a historical person were converted into mythological narratives and not the reverse. There are at least three periods round which the legends are grouped—the early life, the renunciation and enlightenment and the public career—on the actual career of a man and, besides the legends of the scriptures and commentaries, there are other sources which make it possible to place the life in a definite period of Indian history. Subsequent researches established the fact that although there were many schools and sects, there might have existed an original pre-Aśokan canon composed in some Prakrit dialect. It was finally committed to writing in Pali by the Theravāda school and in Sanskrit by the Sarvāstivādins and others. The differences as found in these written records belonging to different schools were due to the fact that the original canon was preserved in memory. Basically the canons of different schools do not differ very much. The variants generally refer to the historical or legendary events in the narrative portions attached to most of the discourses. The researches of E. Waldschmidt (1926 ff) throw much light on this subject. He has treated the *Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta* in great detail, having collected

[1]Rev. ed. 1931, 1949.

all the Sanskrit passages that have been recovered and compared them with other known documents in Pali, Tibetan and Chinese. Subsequent studies from the comparative point of view mentioned in the preceding chapter centred mainly round textual and linguistic problems, and their results have not been utilised in the case of historical reconstructions.

In 1947, E. Lamotte in his *Legende du Bouddha*[1] raised the old question once again and held that since the Buddha legends have no tinge of reality what the historians can do in this field is not to extract history from these legends, but to stratify the legends and remain content by studying their successive stages. This is a viewpoint which is opposed to that of Thomas. But in his subsequent work, *Histoire du Buddhisme Indien* (1958) he was to some extent inclined to insist on the historical existence of the Buddha as a reality, although side by side he pointed out that the Buddhist texts were unable to give any definite clue to the proper understanding of the actual happenings of the Buddha's life. As regards the original doctrines of the Buddha himself E. Conze has drawn our attention to the writings of some Polish scholars like Maryla Falk, St. Schayer, and C. Regamey who have tried to penetrate at least to what they call 'pre-canonical Buddhism."[2] They assume that wherever the canon contains ideas which clash with the orthodox theories of the Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins, and wherever these ideas were taken up and developed by the Mahāyāna, we have to deal with a very old 'pre-canonical' tradition, which was too venerable to be discarded by the compilers of the canon. According to Conze, this is merely a tentative hypothesis, which can be approached only after settling two basic questions relating to the origin of Buddhism. The first question is concerned with the life of the Buddha. Can we, with our present knowledge, separate legend from fact ? The second question is more vital : Did Buddhism originate among an elite of intellectuals, of philosophical ascetics, and then became a popular religion only at the time of Asoka? Or was it, even from the earliest time onwards a popular

[1]*Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, CXXIV, pp. 31-71.

[2]St. Schayer, Pre-canonical Buddhism in *Archiv Orientalni*, VII, 1935, pp. 121-32; New contribution to the problem of Pre-hīnayānic Buddhism in *Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies* I, 1937, pp. 8-17. cf. C. Regamey (K. Regamoy), *Der Buddhismus Indien* (1951); art. in *Roeznik Orientalisticzny*, XXI, 1957, pp. 37-58.

religion based on the cult of Buddha ? And if so, was this religious side a part of its very essence or just a propagandistic concession to laymen?[1]

These questions remind us of the two propositions laid by Thomas strictly in relation to the life of the Buddha and the answer to these questions can only be given if the historicity or unhistoricity of the Buddha can be proved beyond any doubt. To quote Thomas again : "It must be remembered that some recognised scholars have denied and they still deny that the story of Buddha contains any record of historical events. We further have the undoubted fact that various well known characters once accepted as historical are now consigned to legendary fiction, such as Dido of Carthage, Prester John, Pope John and Sir John Mandeville. The reply to those who would treat Buddha in the same way is not to offer a series of syllogisms, and say, *therefore* the historical character is proved. The opponents must be challenged to produce a theory more credible."

But the difficulty is that the Buddhist texts, the knowledge derived from them so far, are hopelessly unable, as we have seen above, to give any definite clue to the understanding of the actual happenings of the life of the Buddha. And if such be the condition, we have to depend on other sources which may not necessarily be literary. This is a point stressed by Alfred Foucher, the veteran archaeologist who in his *La vie du Bouddha d'apres les texts et les monuments de l'Indie* 1949, pp. 383 ff,[2] depended not only on texts of different Buddhist schools, but also on numerous works on arts and at the same time travelled all over India and carefully observed all the important Buddhist sites, and thus succeeded in establishing the actual Indian tradition about the Buddha in a historical perspective and in describing the state of the Buddha legends as they existed at the beginning of the Christian era. In fact as early as the days of Cunningham, scholars working in the field of archaeology could never ignore the historical existence of the Buddha. When Aśoka's inscription shows that Piprawa was certainly the accepted site of the Buddha's birth place as early as the third century BC the historical existence of the Buddha becomes almost a matter of certainty. The development of

[1]E. Conze, *Thirty Years of Buddhist Research*, pp. 1-12.

[2]An abridged Eng. tr. of this work came out in 1963 under the title *The Life of Buddha.*

Buddhist sculpture and architecture has followed a systematic process. The art-complexes are historically linked up and can be chronologically stratified in the Śuṅga and early Andhra periods (Bharhut, Bodhgaya, Sanchi, Karle), in the Kuṣāṇa and later Andhra periods (Gandhara, Mathura, Amaravati) and in the Gupta period (Sarnath, Bagh, Ajanta) and all these bear a traditional continuity at the centre of which must be a historical person, the person of the Buddha. That the events related to this historical person were converted into mythological narratives and not the reverse can be proved with reference to the neighbouring sites of Bhaja (first century BC) and Karle (first-second centuries AD). Structurally the central halls of both the sites belong to the same style, but Karle is marked by sculptural accretions pointing to the growth of mythological features. Such growths have a steady history from the viewpoints of style, embellishment and other characteristics of visual art which can be traced, exemplified and documented.

But side by side it must also be admitted that the evidence which can be derived from the surviving Buddhist monuments are less decisive in character so far as the particulars are concerned. They may establish the validity of some general propositions, but their scope is limited. In particular what they reveal, like the depiction of the Buddha vanquishing Māra or that of a Jātaka story, is nothing but restatement of literary tradition. Since there is no chance of getting additional historically-oriented texts containing reliable information about the life of the Buddha, the only way out is to use the surviving materials in a different way. By this method no one should expect that one shall be able to find out the lost chapters of the Buddha's life. What can be done is to see whether our total knowledge of the Buddha and his doctrines obtained so far from reliable, semi-reliable and unreliable sources, fits with the historical conditions of the sixth century BC. Long ago Oldenberg pointed out that the Buddhist ideas were not stranger to those of Brahmanism, rather they were the logical consequence of the latter. Brahmanical speculations anticipated Buddhism in diction as well as in thought. The problem of the early Brahmanical speculations was to define the relation between the Ātman and the external world. A painful world, full of the hunger and thirst, sorrow and confusion, old age and death, when equated with the all perfect, all-pervading, and the all-beautiful Ātman would naturally give birth to absolute pessimism,

the conception of metempsychosis, the endless cycles of births and deaths, and finally the doctrine of Karman as the power of predetermining the course of the migration of soul from one state of being to another. Even the reward of good action, is impermanence which arises out of some kind of desire, and hence the doctrine of deliverance gradually came to be based upon the conquest of all desire through the knowledge of the impermanence of everything. And this is what was taught by the Buddha.[1] One should not fail to recall in this connection that the contemporaries of the Buddha—Mahāvīra, Gośāla, Ajita, Sañjaya, Pūraṇa and Pakudha—based their theories on the same premises, though their conclusions were different.

Although in this sequence of the evolution of Indian thought the Buddhist view-point somehow fits, the pessimism of the Buddha and his contemporaries can be traced to more objective conditions. That the sixth century BC was a period of great social transformation in eastern India which was marked by the rise of state power and class division on the ruins of ancient tribal societies, can be proved by solid evidence. Although Oldenberg's view that the pessimism inherent in the Buddhist and kindred ideas originated among the physically and mentally weak descendants of the Vedic tribes was baseless, it must be admitted that in finding out Brahmanical speculative elements in Buddhism he was completely successful. Oldenberg and his school thought it unnecessary to look for any other thing as original Buddhism beyond the normal suggestivity of the Pali sources. But there were others who held that the Buddhist texts and commentaries were composed mainly by the Brāhmaṇas, since they were the scholarly class throughout the ages and that they employed their traditional terminologies and conceptions in interpreting the essentials of Buddhism. There might also have been conscious and unconscious attempts to fabricate the one in the light of the other, like the mixing of milk with mango-juice, and in doing so the mango-seed, which was original Buddhism was probably thrown away. The Brahmanical doctrinal elements so laboriously pointed out by Oldenberg and regarded as the natural culmination of a running thought process, may be explained in terms of such fabrications. This view was upheld not only by the scholars dependent on Sanskrit or Sanskritic tradition like Stcherbatsky or Vallee Poussin but also eminent Palists like Mrs. Rhys Davids and others.

[1]Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 1882, pp. 16-59; H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, 1896, pp. 11-12.

In her later works Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids expressed herself as quite convinced that the Pali scriptures as they now stand represent the monkish thoughts of times much later than the Buddha's, and if we are to discover his original teaching we must extract it from the scriptures by a process of criticism and discrimination. She believes that fragments of these teachings can be discovered here and there in the Pali canon and can be differentiated from the surrounding material. According to Mrs. Rhys Davids, this differentiation must lead us to the earliest period which is so different from the picture that we find in our earliest records that she prefers to call it Śākya and not Buddhism. The name of Buddhism had become connotative of the later monkish accretions on a primitive, tribal and unsophisticated *Kernel* which was originally Śākya. The idea in itself is very stimulating, and Mrs. Rhys Davids is quite correct in upholding the conception of a primitive Buddhism basically different from what is known to us by that name. Unfortunately her works have exhausted themselves in the most masterly and critical analysis of the sources and in brilliant outlining of methodology, but very little we have about the reconstructed form of the primitive Śākya religion on which she lays so much emphasis. Her insistence on the social basis of ideas is however a very important point which should be specially noted.

Stcherbatsky on the other hand insisted on the exact meaning of the technical terms found in the scholastic literature of Buddhism which he believed to be nearer to the original doctrine. His methodology was to depend on what the Buddhist materials themselves had to say on the terms and concepts. According to him, although late, the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu is a systematic exposition of a much earlier work which must have preserved the original doctrine very faithfully. His basic contention is that the Dharma theory is the basis of all forms of Buddhism and the starting point of all later developments.[1] By Dharma is meant a fundamental principle viz., the idea that existence is an interplay of a plurality of subtle, ultimate, and not further analysable elements of matter, mind and force. We do not know of any form of Buddhism without this doc-

[1]Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Central Conception of Buddhism*, Leningrad, 1927, rep. New Delhi, 1970, pp. 65ff.

trine and its corollary classification of elements into Skandha, Āyatana and Dhātu, and the law of their interconnection (Pratītya-samutpāda). This doctrine of elements was current in pre-Buddhistic systems and in Buddhism they got a changed significance. Just as Mahāvīra was not the first to proclaim Jainism, so also the Buddha might have adopted and spread a doctrine which he found in the philosophical tradition of India. He, indeed, is reported to have categorically disowned the authorship of a new teaching, but claimed to be the follower of a doctrine established long ago by former Buddhas.

According to Stcherbatsky, the idea of self or soul as a psycho-physical entity, arising out of the rudimentary doctrine of elements was not unknown in the earlier traditions. But the idea of an immortal soul was quite unknown to the Vedas and the older Upanisads. The new conception of the immortal soul, called Ātmavāda by the Buddhists, was accepted by the subsequent philosophical systems except the materialists and the Buddhists whose sole emphasis was on the older tradition with considerable amendments. By the Anātmavāda of the Buddhists we understand a plurality of separate elements without real entity, a conception which must have been in existence in pre-Buddhist traditions. According to Stcherbatsky, the basis of the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna ideas was the same which drew its main impulses from the earlier traditions. To him, the origin of Buddhism, therefore, was a matter of philosophy to be traced to the history of ideas, and the Buddha was a representative of a spiritual succession established long ago by former Buddhas.

The need of studying the socio-economic condition of India during the time of the Buddha was felt long ago by the Rhys Davids couple, R. Fick, E. J. Thomas and others and that of evaluating the intellectual growth of that age was stressed by Olderberg, Kern, Stcherbatsky, Vallee Poussin, etc., but the difficulty was that none of these scholars cared to think of the latter as the ideological reflection of the former and interpret the cardinal doctrines of Buddhism on the basis of such an understanding. As a result, the social contents of what had been preached by the Buddha could not have been scientifically treated. Much work has however been done in this field in recent years, of which mention will be made in a subsequent chapter. Although these works do not claim to have solved all the problems

mentioned above they offer important clues to the understanding and interpretation of the genesis of Buddhism in a new light.[1]

[1]See N.N. Bhattacharyya, 'A Note of the Historical Biography of the Buddha' in *Journal of Indian History*, LIII, 1975, pp. 1-12; 'The origin of Buddhism : A Survey of Important View's in *Proceedings of the International Seminar on Buddhism and Jainism*, Cuttack, 1976, pp. 208-215; D. Snellgrove, 'In Search of the Historical Sakyamuni' in *South East Asian Review*, VII, 1975, pp. 151-58; Andre Bareau, *Recherches sur la biographie de Buddha*, Paris, 1963, 1970, 1971; G.C. Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, New Delhi, 1957, rev. ed. 1974. Kogen Mizuno, *Primitive Buddhism*, Eng. tr., 1969.

Chapter 3

Studies on the Buddhist Councils and Sects

The earliest article on the Buddhist sects was published in 1859 in *Journal Asiatique* by St. Julien under the title "Listes diverses des noms des dix-huit sectes du Bouddhisme." This was followed by V.P. Vasilev's (W. Wassiljew) *Buddizm: ego dogmaty, istorya i literatura* (Buddhism: Its Dogmas, History and Literature),[1] published in the same year, which dealt with different Buddhist schools, mainly banking upon the Tibetan and Chinese sources. Critical studies on the Buddhist sects, however, began to be made after the publication of Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism*, translated from the Tibetan into Russian by Vasilev and into German by Schiefner (1868). Tāranātha gave us important identifications of the different names of the schools appearing in the lists of Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva.[2] In 1875 came out an English translation of the *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra*, also known as *Śākyamunibuddhacarita*, from Chinese, made by S. Beal. It was a text of the Dharmaguptakas, published under the title *Roman-*

[1]Its German version *Der Buddhismus: seine dogmen, geschichte und literatur* came out in 1860. A French translation of this work made by La Comme was published in 1865.

[2]The Kāśyapīyas were equathed with the Suvarṣakas, the Saṃkrāntivādins with the Uttarīyas and the Tāmraśāṭīyas, the Caityakas with the Pūrvaśailas and the schools of Mahādeva, the Lokattarvādins with the Kaukkutikas and the Ekavyavahārikas with the Mahīśāsakas. He held that the Kurukullakas, Vātsiputrīyas, Dharmottarīyas, Bhadrayānīyas and Channagārikas had a almost similar views. According to Tāranātha Kashmir was the scene of activities of Vatsa, the founder of Vātsiputrīya or Sāmmitīya school. He referred to seven schools of the Pāla period which were the Sāmmitīyas comprising the Vātsiputrīyas and the Kaurukullakas, the Mahāsaṅghikas comprising the Prajñaptivādins and the Lokottaravādins, and the Sārvastivādins comprising the Tāmraśāṭīyas and the Sarvāstivādin proper. According to him Mathura was the stronghold of the Sarvāstivādins. A new translation of Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism*, free from the errors made by Vasilev and Schifner in their Russian and German translation, was published (ed. D. P. Chattopadhyaya) from Simla in 1970.

tic Legend of Śākya Buddha. In 1881, Beal published *The Vinaya of the Dharamaguptas according to the Chinese Version.* The same year saw the publication of the English translation of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* from Pali, made by Oldenberg and Rhys Davids. The *Mahāvastu* belonging to the Lokottaravādins was edited by Senart which was made between 1882 and 1897. Rockhill in his *Life of Buddha* (1884) translated extracts from the Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya. The Sarvāstivādin *Avadānaśataka* was translated into French by L. Feer in 1891.[1] A translation of the Tibetan *Udānavarga*, also belonging to the Sarvāstivādins, was published by Rockhill in 1892. As early as in 1882, J.H.C. Kern in his Dutch work entitled *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in India* made a learned discussion on the councils and the growth of various sects.[2]

These publications of texts belonging to various schools undoubtedly throw some light on the historicity, contents and details, especially of the first and second Buddhist councils which were held responsible for the development of schisms and the emergence of the sects and also evoked keen controversy among the scholars on different issues associated with the early history of the Buddhist Church. I.P. Minayeff's *Recherches sur le Buddhisme*[3] which was first published in 1884 contained detailed but controversial accounts of the Buddhist councils and the growth of the sects with the conclusion that the councils had an historical value from a double point of view. They contained an ancient nucleus of an authentic tradition, i.e., discussions on the point of discipline which were not necessarily anterior to all canonical codification and resumed under the symbolical aspect of a regular council the work of compilations and arrangement of scriptures. Minayeff's insistence on the *Cullavagga* account (Ch. XI) was challenged by Oldenberg in his *Buddhistiche Studien* (1898)[4] as unhistorical and false because of its internal contradictions

[1]*Annales du Musee Guimet*, Paris. The text edited by Speyer was published between 1902 and 1909 in Bibliotheca Buddhica Series.

[2]Its German translation came out in 1884 and the French in 1901-03 under the title *Histoire du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde*, tr. by Gedon Huat. Kern's smaller English work, *A Manual of Indian Buddhism* (1884), also contains valuable information.

[3]Translated into French from the original Russian by R. H. Assier de Pompignan, *Musee Guimet Bibl. d' Etudes*, IV, 1894.

[4]*ZDMG*, LII, 1898, pp. 613-94.

and of its lack of corroboration with other sources. This point was not to be easily ignored because the stories of the schisms as recorded in the texts belonging to different schools of Buddhism[1] appeared to many scholars more arbitrary than historical. R.O. Franke in an article entitled *The Buddhist Councils at Rājagṛha and Vesālī* (1908)[2] tried to show that the causes of doctrinal differences upheld by each school in its own way, especially the legends of offences ascribed to different monks were quite mythical and imaginary. The question of the authenticity and priority of the available texts became subject of keen controversy. For example, Oldenberg believed that the whole Pali Vinaya was anterior to the second council.

Researches on the Tibetan sources of the first council by Csoma Feer[3] and M. Suzuki's thorough research on the Chinese sources[4] brought more facts to light. Suzuki had collected and analysed about a dozen of the accounts of the council, though his list was not complete. The most important lacuna was the omission of the narrative inserted in the *Che-song-lieu*. In 1908, Louis de la Vallee Poussin having critically examined all hitherto published materials and arguments put forward by previous scholars admitted the validity of Minayeff's conclusions about the functional reality of the earlier councils as the source of the diversification of Buddhist thoughts and practices ultimately culminating in the formation of different schools and sects in his celebrated article entitled *Buddhist Councils*.[5] A group of scholars however thought that since the proceedings of the councils as recorded in the texts did not positively assist in ascertaining the real causes and objective conditions leading to the schisms, it was better to depend on the advanced scholastic literature and to treat the whole

[1]Pali: *Cullavagga*, XII, *Mahāvaṃsa* IV, *Dīpavaṃsa* IV-V, *Samantapāsādika*, *Mahabodhivaṃsa*, *Śāsanavaṃsa* and the Simhalese *Nikayāsaṃgraha*. Tibetan: *Dulva*, XI. 323-330; Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, extracts translated by Rockhill, Bu-ston's and Taranatha's *History;* Chinese: Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya (Buddhadatta and Fa-hien), Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya or *Kṣudrakavastu* (I-tsing), Vinayas of the Dharmaguptakas (Buddhayaśas and Tehon-fu-nien), Mahīśāsakas (Buddhajīva). Sarvāstivādins (Punyatrāta, Kumārajīva and Vimalākṣa). Haimavatas (*Vinayamātṛkā-sūtra*), treatises of Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva, etc.

[2]*Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1908, pp. 59 ff.

[3]Annales du Musee Guimet, II, pp. 196 ff.

[4]The first Buddhist Council in *Monist*, XIV, 1904, pp. 252-83.

[5]*Indian Antiquary*, XXXVII, 1908, pp. 1-18, 91-106.

problem strictly in terms of the doctrinal viewpoints reached by the schools in the course of their historical development, an attitude which was foreshadowed in Y. Sogen's *Systems of Buddhist Thought* (1912).[1]

According to the traditions, the first recital of the Buddhist texts was made under the presidency of Mahākāśyapa at Rājagṛha. This was known as the first council. But there were some like Purāṇa or Gavāṃpati (known from Tibetan sources) who did not approve its proceedings. A century later differences became great among the monks about the actual words of the teacher, the rules and their interpretations. It is stated in the *Cullavagga* and the Ceylonese chronicles that a second council was held at Vaiśālī, a century after the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha to discuss the breach of the ten rules of discipline (Dasa-Vatthuni) by the Vajjian monks.[2] On the other hand in the Tibetan and Chinese translations of Vasumitra and others the council was said to have been convened on account of the differences of opinion among the monks regarding the five dogmas propounded by Mahādeva.[3] But all the accounts unanimously held that a schism had taken place in the second council. According to the Pali tradition, the monks who deviated by making a breach of the ten rules were Vajjians who, having found that the decision of the council was in favour of the orthodox monks, refused to obey the decision of the majority and were expelled from the Saṅgha. They convened another council, 'a

[1]Significant light had been thrown in this work by Sogen on the Bahuśrutīya school which preferred a syncretism of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.

[2]The ten points or indulgences described in the *Cullavagga* were as follows; (1) Singiloṇakappa or the practice of carrying salt in a horn, (ii) Dvaṅgulakappa or the practice of taking meals when the shadow is two fingers broad (iii) Gāmantarakappa or the practice of going to another village and taking a second meal there on the same day, (iv) Āvāsakappa or the observance of the Uposatha ceremonies in various places in the same parish, (v) Anumatikappa or obtaining sanction of a deed after it is done, (vi) Āciṇṇakappa or using customary practices as precedents, (vii) Amathitakappa or the drinking of buttermilk after meals, (viii) Jalogimpatum or drinking of toddy, (ix) Adasakamnisidanam or using a rug which has no fringe and (x) Jātarūparajatam or the acceptance of gold and silver.

[3]The five dogmas of Mahādeva were (1) an Arhat may commit a sin by unconscious temptation, (ii) one may be an Arhat and know it not (iii) an Arhat may have doubts on matters of doctrine (iv) one cannot attain Arhathood without a teacher and (v) one may attain perfection by meditating with such exclamations as 'how sad', 'how sad'!

great congregation of the monks' (Mahāsaṅgīti) for which they were called the Mahāsaṅghikas, as distinguished from the orthodox monks, the Theravādins or Sthaviravāotins. This was followed by a series of schisms leading to the formation of different subsects, and in course of time eleven such subsects arose out of the Theravāda while seven issued from the Mahāsaṅghikas. Later there appeared other subsects also.

Fortunately we have a complete Theravāda canon consisting of Vinaya, Sūtras in the form of five Nikāyas, Abhidharma, supplements or additions to all these three branches, commentaries (*aṭṭhakathā*) and sub-commentaries. (*ṭīkās*).[1] The Theravāda admits the human character of the Buddha. It has a pluralistic conception of the constituent elements of the universe. All worldly things are subject to three characteristics—*anitya* or impermanence, *dukkha* or suffering and *anātma* or soullessness. The non-material part of a thing is known as *nāma* or name and the material as *rūpa* or form. They are further described as consisting of five constituents or *skandhas*, viz., *rūpa* (form), *vedanā* (sensation), *saṅjnā* (perception), *saṃskāra* (mental formatives) and *vijñāna* (consciousness). These are again classified into twelve organs and objects of sense and eighteen *dhātus* or ingredients, the number of which has been multiplied in course of time. When an individual understands the true nature of things, he follows the Middle Path and moulds his life according to the Noble Eightfold Path by which he gets rid of *karma* that regulates all life. By cultivating *prajñā* or insight he understands the Law of Dependent Origination and realizes that all worldly suffering is due to craving or *tṛṣṇā*. He then reaches that perfect state of mind which makes him an Arhat, i.e., the worthy or ideal man, which is the precondition of the attainment of the blissful *nirvāṇa*. Theravāda is often given the appellation Vibhajyavāda.[2] In Ceylon we have a localised form of Theravāda, known as the Abhayagirivāsin or Dharmarūci.[3]

In the *Kathāvatthu* the Theravāda or Sthaviravāda viewpoints are upheld through debates and controversies with those of other schools.

[1]The Vinaya, Sūtra and Abhidhamma texts of the Theravāda school along with their commentaries, supplements and additions are mentioned in chapter VIII.

[2]See C.S. Prasad in *East and West*, NS, XII, 1972, pp. 101-14.

[3]This sect has a text known as *Saddhammopāyana* composed by Ananda II (ed. in *JPTS* 1887 by Morris). Its commentary is known as *Saddhammopāyanaviggaha*, ed. Ratnasāra, Colombo, 1911.

In doing so the *Kathāvatthu* follows the Indian logical tradition according to which when the views of the opponents are to be refuted it is compulsory to describe faithfully the views of the opponents as Pūrvapakṣa. Accordingly the *Kathāvatthu* presents the doctrines of the opponents, i.e., those of the non-Theravāda schools. The group of the Theravādins, as we have noted above was subdivided into eleven or more sects, prominent among them being the Mahīśāsakas, the Sarvāstivādins, the Dharmaguptakas, the Kāśyapīyas, the Śamkāntikas or Sautrāntikas, the Haimavatas, the Uttarāpathakas, the Vātsiputrīya-Sammitīyas the Dharmottarīyas and other schools. Of these sects, the Sarvāstivāda has a vast literature of its own. Our main sources of information regarding the literature of this sects are Chinese and Tibetan versions of the Tripiṭaka supplemented by the finds of manuscripts in Central Asia, Eastern Turkestan, Gilgit and Nepal and often by quotations found in the Mahāyānic works.[1]

[1]Rockhill, as has been mentioned above, in his *Life of Buddha* (1884) translated extracts from the Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya. The Sarvāstivādin *Avadānaśataka* was translated into French by L. Feer in 1891. A translation of the *Tibetan Udānavarga* was published by Rockhill in 1892. Another translation of the same text, edited by Bechk, came out in 1911 and portions of its Sanskrit original, edited by Vallee Poussin, came out in the next year (see *JRAS*, 1912). Central Asian fragments of this text were previously published by Pischel (1908), Lévi and Poussin (1910-12). It was subsequently edited by N. P. Chakravarti, (Paris, 1930). In 1913, fragments of the Sarvāstivādin *Daśādhyāya* (Vinaya in ten sections) was edited by Finot (*Journal Asiatique*, 1913), and in the same year came out fragments of the *Nidāna saṃyukta*, belonging to the *Saṃyukta Nikāya* being edited by Vallee Poussin (*JRAS*, 1913) It is also included in Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found from Eastern Turkestan* (1916) which contains as well the Sarvāstivādin version of the *Āṭānāṭiya Sūtra* belonging to the *Dīrgha Nikāya*, the *Upāli*, *Suka*, etc., of the *Madhyama Nikāya* and so on. The Sanskrit *Bhikṣuṇiprātimokṣa* was edited and published in 1926 by E. Waldschmidt (Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, abb. *KST*, III, Leipzig, 1926; for other Vinaya fragments see Filliozat and Kuno in *Journal Asiatique*, 1938, pp. 21 ff.), who also edited in 1932 a few Sarvāstivādin Sūtras belonging to the *Saṃyukta Nikāya* (*KST*, IV, 1932). Among the manuscript finds at Gilgit, a portion of the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Mūlasarvāstivadins, was discovered (incorporated in the Vol. III of *Gilgit MSS.*). Of other Mūlasarvāstivadin texts, the first five chapters of the *Dharmasamuccaya* were edited in 1946 from fragmentary Sanskrit manuscripts by Lin Li-Kouang, with the corresponding Chinese versions, the Tibetan and a French translation, who also made an elaborate study in 1949 of the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra* also belonging to the same sect. (*L'Aide-memoire de la Vraie loi*, Paris, Musee Guimet, 1949). In the fifties and the sixties, the Deutsche Akademie der

A branch of the Sarvāstivadins was known as the Mūla-sarvāstivādins, and it is difficult to distinguish between the literature of the two. It seems that the Āgamas were common to both, and so also were the Abhidharma texts. It is only in regard to the Vinaya and a few Avadāna texts that there might have been some differences.

Interesting light on the Buddhist sects, especially on the Sarvāstivādins, was thrown by Jean Przyluski in his two works *La Legende de l' Empereur Aśoka* (Paris 1923)[1] and *Le Concile de Rājagriha* (Paris 1926). In the first work the author had adduced convincing grounds for believing that the traditions found in the *Aśokāvadāna* were older than those in the Vinaya of the Mūla-sarvāstivādins. When almost simultaneously E. Huber and M. Sylvain Levi discovered that certain stories of the *Divyāvadāna* were drawn from the *Aśokāvadāna* while the majority of others formed part of the Vinaya of the Mūla-sarvāstivādins, an important point in the history of the Buddhist sects was gained. It became evident that the three works based on common traditions were closely connected, and counted among the most important texts of the Sarvāstivāda school.[2] Levi believed that the Mūla-sarvāstivāda school had its positive links with Kashmir and its neighbouring region. If it had chosen Sanskrit as its sacred language,

Wissensch aften Zu Berlin (*DAWB*) published a number of texts which included the Sanskrit fragmentary Sūtras like the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* (ed. Waldschmidt, 1950-51), *Mahāvadāna* (ed. Waldschmidt, 1952, 1956), *Catuṣpariṣat* (ed. Waldschmidt, 1952, 1956, 1962), *Daśottara* (ed. Mittal and Sechlingloff, 1957, 1962) and Sarvāstivādin Vinaya fragments like *Vinaya-vastu: Karmavācanā* (ed. Hartel, 1956) and *Vinayavibhaṅga* (ed. Rosen, 1959). Of the Abhiddarma texts and manuals belonging to the Sarvāstivādins, Saṅgharakṣa's *Yogācāra-bhūmi* was translated in 1954 by Demieville from Chinese (*Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-orient*, 1954). In 1955 the first part of Kātyāyaṇīputra's *Jñānaprasthāna* was retranslated from Chinese into Sanskrit by Śānti Bhikṣu which was published by the Visvabharati. In 1959 Vimalamitra's *Abhidharmadīpa* and *Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti* were edited from an incomplete manuscript by Jaini (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series, Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna). The Sanskrit *Prātimokṣaśūtra* of the Mulasarvāstivādins, edited by Banerjee, was published in 1953 in *Indian Historical Quarterly*. The *Anavataptagāthā* was edited from the Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya by Höfinger in 1954. Fragments of the Sarvāstivādin *Nidānasaṃyukta* edited by Tripathi was published in 1962. From the same year a fascimile edition of some of the fragmentary Sūtras began to be published in Indo-Iranian Fascimile Series.

[1]Eng. tr. by D.K. Biswas, Calcutta, 1967.

[2]E. Huber, Sources du Divyāvadāna in *BEFEO*, VI, Nos. 1-2.

the choice appeared to attest well the privileged position of Sanskrit as the literary language of Kashmir about the time when the redaction of the Vinaya took place.[1] According to Przyluski, the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins in which had been incorporated an entire collection of stories, legends and sūtras along with fragments having reference to discipline, could only have been compiled in an epoch when the religious literature of the Sarvāstivādins was already highly developed. But it was possible to find some of these things in a less evolved form which might be very close to the original. In the *Aśokāvadāna* such a form could be found. Przyluski had distinguished three phases in the history of the progress of Buddhism and the Buddhist church from the lower valley of the Ganges to the tableland of upper Asia, to each of which, according to him corresponded a distinctive period in the history of Buddhist literature. These were specified as Magadha, Mathura and Kashmir phases respectively, and the *Aśokāvadana* which was a blend of composite elements including an original *Aśokasūtra* coated with the accounts of the First Council and other historical details about the early Buddhist church, was the product of the Mathura period.

In the second work he had given French translations of the accounts of the First Council as found in the *Kia-Yeh-Kie-King* (Sūtra on Kāśyapa's collection of the Tripiṭaka) and also in *Ta-Che-Tu-Luen*.[2] Here he had shown that Kausambi and all south-western countries became later on the seat of the Theravādins while Mathura and the north-western countries that of the Sarvāstivādins. He had traced the origin of the Sarvāstivāda to the grouping of monks, shown in the account of the Second Council and held that the monks collected by Yaśa came mainly from two centres, one of which was Kausāmbī-Avantī and the other Mathura. The former developed into Theravāda and Mahīśāsaka schools while the letter into Sarvāstivāda, and both were opposed to the Mahāsaṅghikas whose centre was at Pāṭaliputra and Vesālī and at a later date in the Andhra Pradesh. According to Przyluski, the antiquity of the Mahīśāsakas

[1]S. Levi, Le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde dans le Vinaya des Sarvāstivādin et les textes apparente's in *Journal Asiatique*, II, 1914, p. 494.

[2]J. Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagrha*, Paris 1976, pp. 3-20, 57-75. A complete analytical bibliography of Przyluski's writings has been published by A.W. Macdonald and M. Lalou, *L'auvre de Jean Przyluski*, Paris, 1970.

should go back to the time of the First Council. The Vinaya of the Theravādins record the difference of opinion of the Mahīśāsakas and the Dharmaguptakas, between Mahākassapa and Purāṇa of Dakkhinagiri (near Rājagṛha). The Mahīśāsaka Vinaya attached special importance to the person of Purāṇa, who insisted on a second rehearsal, showing clearly that Purāṇa and his followers formed a group by themselves. On the basis of the facts that Purāṇa referred to the people of Mahiṣaka, that the alternative name of this school was Mahāvantaka and that the Vinaya text of this school was found by Fa-hien in Ceylon, Przyluski held that the line of expansion of this school was the same as that of the Theravāda, i.e. along the Kausambī-Bhārukaccha axis and that it gradually extended upto the sea-borne countries and that it became particularly popular in Mahiṣamaṇḍala and Avantī, and ultimately reached Ceylon. His suggestions are supported by the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions in which it is stated that the queen of Vanavāsī erected a pillar and a monastery at Nagarjunikonda for the benefit of the Ācāryas of the Mahīśāsaka sect. Przyluski's views on other sects will be mentioned later.

Judging by the great quantity and value of the works Sarvāstivāda had left, it appears that this school was no less important in any field. According to this school everything exists, not only the things in the present, but also those in the past and the future which are in continuity with the present. The Sarvāstivādins maintained that an Arhat was subject to fall or retrogression and that a continuous flow of mind might amount to concentration or Samādhi. Like the Sthaviravādins they denied the transcendental powers ascribed to the Buddha, believed in Nairātma of absence of any soul in any individual and in the plurality of elements. According to them there are seventy two *saṃskṛta-dharmas* or constituted elements and three *asaṃskṛta-dharmas* or unconstituted elements which are linked together by casual relations. The Mahīśāsakas also had much in common with Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda. Like the Theravādins they believed that the Arhats were not subject to retrogression and that the Buddha was a human being. They held that there was no *antarā-bhāva* or interim existence between this life and the next. For the earlier Mahīśāsakas the past and future did not exist, while the present and nine *asaṃskṛta-dharmas* (unconstituted elements) did. But the later Mahīśāsakas, like the Sarvāstivādins believed in the existence of the past and future and in the *antarā-bhāva* and held that the *skandhas, āyatanas* and *dhātus*

always existed in the form of seeds.

In 1925, J. Masuda published the translations of the Chinese version of Vasumitra's treatise on eighteen sects of Buddhism in India which was supplemented by the Tibetan texts on the eighteen schools by Bhavya and Vinītadeva.[1] A Tibetan version of Vasumitra's treatise known as *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* was translated by A. Bareau in 1954[2] who also translated its supplements, Bhāvaviveka's *Nikāyabhedavibhaṅgavyākhyāna* and Vinītadeva's *Samayabhedoparacanacakre-Nikāyabhedopradarśanasaṃgraha* from the original Tibetan in 1956.[3] According to Vasumitra, it was the Sarvāstivāda that was the first to branch off from Sthaviravāda, and from the latter appeared the Mahīśāsakas, Kāśyapīyas and Saṃkrāntivādins, one after another at the interval of a century. Out of the Mahīśāsakas developed the Dharmaguptakas. Przyluski on the basis of the commentary on Vasumitra's treatise remarked that this school was noted for its popularity in Central Asia and China and identified Dharmagupta, the founder of this school, with Yonaka Dhammarakkhita mentioned in the Ceylonese chronicles as the apostle sent to Aparānta.[4] This school preferred gifts to the Buddha and greatly revered the Stūpas of the Buddha as is clear from their rules of the Vinaya. Like the Mahīśāsakas they believed that an Arhat was free from passion and that heretics could not gain supernatural powers.

De Groot in his *Code du Mahāyāna in Chine* remarked that the Prātimokṣa of the Dharmaguptakas was actually in use as the disciplinary rules in all the centres of China. The first text was translated into Chinese in 152 AD by K'aung-seng-kai, a Sogdian, belonging to this school, and so also was the other text (*Kie-mo*) translated in 254 AD by T'an-tai, a Parthian. Mention has already been made of Pachow's *Comparative Study of the Prātimokṣa* (1955) which has uncovered much of the disciplinary rules of the Dharmagupta school.[5] Hirakawa's study of the Vinaya Piṭaka which came out in 1960,[6] shows that the Chinese recension of the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya,

[1] J. Masuda 'Origins and Doctrines of Early Indian Buddhist Schools' in *Asia Major*, II, 1925, pp. 1-78.
[2] *Journal Asiatique*, 1954, pp. 235 ff.
[3] ibid, 1956, pp. 192 ff.
[4] *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, pp. 325-26.
[5] Viśvabhāratī, Sino-Indian Cultural Society, 1955.
[6] *Ritsuzo no Kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1960.

when compared with that of the Sthaviravāda, reveals close agreement in regard to Prātimokṣa rules. According to Hirakawa, the close agreement of the Vinaya of the two schools shows that during the first schism both of them remained conservative, but their offshoots became unorthodox. There is no Mahāsaṅghika Āgama (Sūtra) in the Chinese, and if such things came to light they were expected to agree more closely with the Sthaviravāda than with its offshoots like the Sarvāstivāda, Dharmaguptaka and others. The essential problems of the Chinese sources had previously been dealt with by Japanese scholars like Anakuma, Matsumoto and Tatsuyama from whose researches we have been informed that the Chinese version of the *Dīrghāgama* (*Dīgha Nikāya*) cannot be attributed to any specific school, although the usual conjecture is that it belongs to the Dharmaguptaka school, and that the versions of the *Madhyama* and *Saṃyukta* belong mostly to the Sarvāstivāda. Ekottara (*Aṅguttara*) has been attributed to the Dharmaguptakas by Matsumoto and to the Mahāsaṅghikas, especially to its Prajñaptivāda offshoot, by Akanuma.

The Kāśyapiyas according to Vasumitra, differed on minor points from the Sarvāstivādins and the Dharmaguptakas and were closer to the Sthaviravādins. They were also known by the epithets Sthavirīya, Saddharmavarṣaka or Suvarṣaka. They believed that the past which has borne fruit ceases to exist, while that which has not yet ripened continues to exist, thus partially modifying the position of the Sarvāstivādins for whom the past also exists as the present. Przyluski identifies the Kāśyapīyas with the Haimavatas and holds that the Kāśyapīyas had a canon similar to that of the Dharmaguptakas. According to Vasumitra the Haimavatas (localised in the Himalayan region) were the inheritors of Sthaviravāda-Sarvāstivāda while Bhavya and Vinītadeva looked upon this school as a branch of the Mahāsaṅghikas. The Uttarāpathakas were probably a general name by which the Ceylonese monks understood those schools of the north which derived the ingredients of their doctrines both from the Sthaviravāda and the Mahāsaṅghika traditions.

Masuda's work on the treatise of Vasumitra mentioned above relates some traditions about the Dārṣṭāntikas as opposed to the Sautrāntikas, both being the subdivisions of Sarvāstivāda. Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, which had a Sautrāntika bias, was translated into French with Yaśomitra's commentary known as *Sphutārtha-Abhidharmakośa-Vyākhyā* by Vallee Poussin from the Tibetan version between 1923 and 1931. He made use also of the Tibetan version of Vasubandhu's own commentary and the Chinese versions of Paramārtha and Hiuen Tsang.[1] In his introduction to the French translation of the *Kośa*, Vallee Poussin, following Vasubandhu's interpretations, has stated that the Sautrāntikas did not accept the Abhidharma Piṭaka of the Sarvāstivadins as authoritative, that they denied the reality of the *Citta-viprayuktas*, i.e. *saṃskāras* not associated with mind, and also of the *a-saṃskṛtas* (non-constituted elements), that they rejected the Sarvāstivādin view of the existence of past and future, that they asserted the existence of subtle *citta* or *vīja* or *vāsanā* and explained thereby the working of the formula of causation, that they carried the doctrine of Kṣaṇikavāda or momentary existence to an extreme point, that they denied the existence of *avijñapti* or non-communicating corporeal and vocal acts as real substance, that they thought the body of an Arhat as pure and produced by knowledge and that they believed in the plurality of the Buddhas. The *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa* of Vasubandhu, also belonging to the Sautrāntika school, was translated from its Tibetan version by E. Lamottee in 1936.[2]

According to Vasumitra, the Sautrāntika school was also known as Saṃkrāntivāda which issued from the Sarvāstivāda. In Pali tradition the Saṃkāntikas are described as an offshoot of the Kassapikas, and they may also be the same as the Dārṣṭāntikas mentioned by Vasubandhu. Information on the *Dārṣṭāntikas* were supplied by K'ouei ki, one of the disciples of Hiuen Tsang. That Kumāralāta was the founder of this school was established by Sylvain Levi in 1929 who proved that the *Dṛṣṭāntamālya* or *Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti* of the Tanjur collection was a fragment of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*.[3] Since Huber translated into French the Chinese version of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, attributed to Aśvaghoṣa, the original was discovered in Central Asia and published by M. Lüders (1926) under the title *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta*.[4] According to Levi, Aśvaghoṣa was the author of the earlier version of this text which was originally known as *Śūtrālaṅkāra* and it was remodelled by Kumāralāta under

[1] Yaśomitra's Commentary on the *Kośa* was previously edited by Th. Stcherbatsky and S. Lévi, Bib. Bud., 1918.

[2] *Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, IV. 1936.

[3] *Journal Asiatique*, 1929, pp. 270 ff.

[4] *Kleinere Sanskrit Texte*, II, 1926.

the new title of *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* in which his own *Dṛṣṭāntamālya* was incorporated. In 1930 an exactly opposite view was expressed by J. Przyluski who held that the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* of Kumarālāta, containing the collection of the aforesaid *dṛṣṭāntas*, was later remodelled and given the name *Sūtrālaṅkāra* and was ascribed under a new shape to the famous Aśvaghoṣa.[1] In 1932 he suggested that the Chinese title of the *Sutrālaṅkāra* (Ta tchoung king louen) stood for the original *Mahāsūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra*, thus showing that at the time when the *Dṛṣṭāntamālya* was given the title of Sutrālaṅkāra, this text was considered as a Śāstra, and that all these bore the testimony of the growth of separate schools under the title Dārṣṭāntika and Sautrāntika from the great north-western original which was Sarvāstivāda.[2]

The Vātsiputrīyas, with whom the sub-sect of the Sāmmitīyas has been identified, are singled out among the Buddhists on account of their advocacy of the theory of *pudgala*, the permanent substance of an individual, something like the soul, against the accepted *anātmavāda* of other schools. Views of this school are mentioned by Vasubandhu. Hiuen Tsang said that he had carried to China fifteen treatises of this school[3] while I-tsing spoke of its separate Vinaya text having rules regulating the use of undergarment, girdle, medicine and bed for members of this sect in a way peculiar to itself.[4] Most of the passages cited in the *Kathāvatthu* as giving the views of the Sāmmitīya school may be tracted to the Pali Piṭaka. It therefore appears that the Sutta Piṭaka of the Sāmmitiyas was substantially the same as that in Pali. The only treatise that is mentioned expressly as belonging to this school in Nanjio's *Catalogue* and extant in Chinese translation is *Sāmmitīya-nikāya-śāstra* (or *Āryaprajñaptiśāstra*) which has been retranslated into Sanskrit in 1953 by K. Venkataramanan.[5] Closely allied to the views of the Vātsiputra-Sāmmitiyas were those of Dharmottarīyas, Bhadrayānīyas and Channagārikas which were skipped over by Vasumitra who mentioned that they differed regarding the attainments of Arhathood and the consequent chances of falling from it.

[1]Aśvaghoṣa et la Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā in *Bulletin of the Section of Letters of the Royal Academy of Belgium*, 1930, pp. 425-434.

[2]Santrāntika et Dārṣṭāntika in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, VIII, 1932, pp. 20ff.

[3]Watters, *On Yuan Chawang's Travels in India*, I, pp. 20-21.

[4]Takakusu, *Records of the Buddhist Religion*, pp. 7, 66, 140.

[5]*Visvabharati Annals*, V.

Interesting light was also thrown in Vasumitra's treatise on the Mahāsaṅghikas, Lokottaravādins, Kaukkutikas and other sects. Vasumitra's treatise had three Chinese translations. (i) *Shi-pa-pu'-chin* ascribed either to Kumārajīva or to Paramārtha ; (ii) *Pu-chi-i-lun* ascribed to Paramārtha ; and (iii) *I-pu'-tsung-lun* ascribed to Hiuen Tsang. The version as translated and interpreted by Paramārtha was reproduced by Paul Demieville in his *L'Origine des sectes bouddhiques d'apares Paramārtha* (1931-32).[1] Paramārtha's account of the Second Buddhist Council has been translated by Demieville. This account refers to the controversy provoked by the five points of Mahādeva leading to the division of the Saṅgha into Sthevira and Mahāsaṅghika groups. Paramārtha did not condemn the Mahāsaṅghikas because of his own Mahāyanic leanings. Following Paramārtha, Demieville has shown that among the offshoots of the Mahāsaṅghikas, the Ekavyavahārikas held that all composites were unreal and fictitious, the Lokattaravādins held that all mundane *dharmas* were unreal and the supramundane *dharmas* were real, and the Kaurukullukas held the view that only the Abhidharma contained the real teachings of the Buddha. We have already had the occasion to refer to the *Mahāvastu* belonging to the Lokottaravādins, a new English translation of which was made by Jones (PTS, 1949-56). The Sanskrit *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* of the Lokottaravādins, edited by Pa-chow and Misra, was published in 1956. Regarding the origin of the Caityaśaila and Uttaraśaila schools Demieville has quoted Paramārtha according to whom two hundred years after Buddha's Parinirvāṇa a second Mahādeva stepped into the Saṅgha stealthily by ordaining himself and brought heretical views. Both the Sthaviras and the Mahāsaṅghikas refused to admit him, and hence he introduced a separate sect.

In 1932 was published Obermiller's English translation of Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism* from the original Tibetan. Bu-ston's account was based on earlier authorities and as such it has been of great significance in the study of the Buddhist schools and sects. According to him about the first century AD or sometime earlier the texts of the eighteen schools were written down, but side by side the oral tradition continued. The written texts had a tendency to encourage various interpretations which even very often became opposite to the

[1]*Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, I, 1931-32.

real teaching. According to him Paiśācī was the language of the Sthaviravādins, Prākṛita of the Mahāsaṅghikas, Apabhraṃśa of the Sāmmitīyas and Sanskrit of the Sarvāstivādins. Bu-ston wrote that the guardianship of the religion was entrusted by the Buddha to Mahakāśyapa who in turn assigned it to Ānanda. Both of them died during the reign of Ajātaśatru. Ānanda entrusted it to Sambhūta Sānivāsī. The latter gave over the guardianship to Upagupta of Māthura. The leading monks of the time of the Second Council were eight. They were Sarvakāmin of Vaiśālī, Sāḍha of Soṇaka, Yaśas of Dhanika, Kuljika of Pāṭaliputra, Dhanika of Sāṃkāsya, Sambhūta of Māhiṣmatī, Ajita of Śrughna and Revata of Sahajāti. The monastery at Vaiśālī where the council was held was known as Kusumapura. On the basis of the tradition preserved in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, Bu-ston had enumerated the following ten un-Vinayic acts: using the sacred salt, taking food in two fingers, eating on the way, admission of a mixture, taking intoxicated drink, making a new rug, begging gold and silver, digging ground, approving and exclamation of astonishment.[1]

The study of the Buddhist sects, at its initial period began to assume a concrete shape with the publication of the accounts of the Chinese travellers, especially those of Fa-hien, Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing. They were not only mere travellers or pilgrims, but reputed Buddhist scholars who had translated into Chinese numerous sectarian texts and at the same time had written detailed functional accounts and geographical distribution of the sects they came across in the course of their extensive travel. As early as in 1857-58 St. Julien had translated into French the accounts of the travels of Hiuen Tsang. J.H. Legge's translation of Fa-hien under the title *Records of the Buddhist Kingdoms* came out from Oxford in 1886. I-tsing's account entitled *Records of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and Malay Archipelago* was translated by J. Takakusu which also came out from Oxford in 1896. Watters' *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* was published in two volumes from London in 1904-05, being edited by T.W. Rhys Davids and S.W. Bushell. S. Beal's *Si-yu-ki* was published in 1906 and his translation of the *Life of Hiuen Tsang* written by Shaman Hwui Li came out in 1911. According to Hiuen

[1]If not the same, similar rules were translated by Vallee Poussin from the Tibetan *Dulva*.

Tsang there were more than 400 monasteries in Kashmir, Punch, Śatadru, Mathurā, Ayodhyā, Prayāga, Vaiśālī, Śvetapura, Nepal, Kajaṅgala, Puṇḍravardhana, Tāmralipti, Malayakūta, Koṅanapura, Ujjayinī, Mahārāṣṭra and Kheda where both the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyanists lived together, observing the same monastic rules. The number of the inhabitants in these monasteries was about 25,000. He saw 161 exclusively Mahāyanist monasteries containing nearly 20,000 brethren in Udyāna, Takṣaśilā, Siṃhapura, Kulu and Varaṇa and about 37 exclusively Hīnayanist monasteries containing nearly 3000 brethren in Puṣkarāvatī, Sahbazgarhi, Sagala, Kuluto, Pāriyātra (Bairat), Sthānīśvara, Śrughṇa, Matipur, Govisana, Prayag, Kausāmbī, Ghazipur, Magadha and Campā. He came across 130 exclusively Theravāda monasteries inhabited by more than 10,000 monks in Samataṭa and Draviḍa countries and 71 mixed-Theravāda monasteries populated by nearly 5000 monks in Bodhgayā, Kaliṅga, Bhārukaccha and Saurāṣṭra. He saw one monastery of the Mahāsaṅghikas having 100 members at Pāṭaliputra and 20 monasteries belonging to the same sect with 1000 members at Dhanakaṭaka or Amaravatī. He noticed 28 establishments of the Sarvāstivādins containing nearly 3000 members at Tamasāvana, Matipur, Navadevakula, Kapota-vihāra in Magadha, Hiraṇyaparvata and Gurjjara and as many as 351 monasteries with more than one lakh residents, belonging to the Sāmmitīya school at Ahicchatra, Kapitha (Saṅkāśya), Hayamukha, Viśoka, Śrāvastī, Kapilavāstu, Vārānasī, Sarnath, Vaiśālī, Hiraṇyaparvata, Karṇasuvarṇa, Mālava, Valabhī, Ānandhapura, Sindhu, Aviddhakaraṇa, Pi-to-tche-to (Badakshan) and A-fan-tu (Middle Sindh). According to I-tsing, in India the Mahāsaṅghika school had seven subsects, Tripiṭaka in three lacs of ślokas, and it was popular mainly in Magadha, in Lāṭa and Sindh as also in some places of North and South India. The Sthaviravāda school had three subsects, Tripiṭaka in three lacs of ślokas and it was popular in South-India and Magadha. Adherents of this school were also found in Lāṭa and Sindh. It existed along with other sects in East India but not in North India. The Mūla-sarvāstivāda school had four subsects, namely, Mūla-sarvāstivāda, Dharmagupta, Mahīśāsaka and Kāśyapīya. It had Tripiṭaka in three lacs of ślokas. The Mūla-sarvāstivāda flourished mostly in Magadha, North and East India, and also had adherents in Lāta and Sindh and in South India. The Dharmaguptas, Mahīśāsakas and Kāśyapīyas were not found in India proper, but had followers in Udyāna and in Campā.

The Sāmmitīya school had four subsects and Tripiṭaka in two lacs of Ślokas with Vinaya Piṭaka in thirty thousand ślokas. It was distributed in Lāṭa and Sindh, South and Eastern India, but not in North India.

In 1946, M. Höfinger, after studying all the Chinese sources dealing with the second Buddhist council came to the conclusion that the Council of Vaiśālī was not a fiction and that the existing sources were nothing but the revised and amplified versions of a very old tradition. The account of the conflict about the disciplinary rules between the monks of Vaiśālī, the Vajjiputtakas, and the rest of the community was almost identical in all the Vinaya texts and it assumed the existence of pre-canonical or protocanonical account very close to the time of its occurrence. Other traditions, claiming various causes of dissension, were superimposed later. The growth of such traditions might well be divided into two classes, independent of each other, the first being represented by the account of the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya, which was the oldest according to Höfinger, and the second by the accounts in other Vinaya texts. The singular original was eastern and the others introduced new divergences in their traditions. Chronologically the traditions of the Mahāsaṅghikas and the Mūlasarvāstivādins were the earliest, those belonging to the Dharmaguptakas were later accretions, those of the Sthaviravādins and the Mahīśāsakas were still later and the Haimavatas were the latest.[1] Like the Theravādins and the Sarvāstivādins, the Mahāsaṅghikas had a canon of their own in its three divisions. Fa-hien came across a complete transcript of the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya at Pāṭaliputra and translated it into Chinese. Its French extracts are given by Höfinger in connection with the ten deviations of the disciplinary rules. According to this account the monks of Vaiśālī developed the habit of collecting money from the laymen by all means. Yaśa made a loud protest against this moral degradation and persuaded the venerable Dasabala of Mathurā to convey a council at Vaiśālī so that the law of Buddha must not be allowed to be destroyed. Then the Saṅgha of 700 monks assembled from the regions of Mathurā, Sāṅkāśya, Kānyakubja, Śravastī, Śākala and other places of Madhyadeśa to the Vāluka Saṅghārāma at Vaiśālī and the venerable Daśaratha recited the Vinaya rules before them which he had heard from the Buddha himself. The monks were asked to observe the four

[1]M. Höfinger, Etude sur la concile de Vaisali in *Le Museon*, XX, 1946.

Pārājikas of the Prātimokṣa-sūtra. They were permitted to ask for a soup-basin, robes, medicines if they needed them but were forbidden to accept gold and silver. In Nanjio's *Catalogue* are mentioned two Vinaya texts of the Mahāsaṅghikas, viz., *Mahāsaṅghika-vinaya* and *Mahāsaṅgha-Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya* (No. 543). It is interesting to note that the *Mahāvastu* which belongs to the Lokottara branch of the Mahāsaṅghikas, corresponds to that part of the Pali Vinaya Piṭaka which gives an account of the Buddha's life and the formation of the first Saṅgha.

In 1955 was published A. Bareau's *Les premiers conciles bouddhiques* in which he suggested that Aśoka was associated with the Sthaviravāda school which was threatened during his reign with a schism of the Sarvāstivādins. The Sthaviravādin tradition did not record it as a schism but simply as the expulsion of some dissident persons. In fact a doctrinal disagreement, going beyond those as stated by the Buddha, was on the move, the events from the Vaiśālī council down to those on the reign of Aśoka, which already witnessed the separation of the Mahāsaṅghikas, indicating a quick development of the process. The main points of difference probably centred round the understanding and interpretation of the Abhidharma, as was indicated by the basic difference between the world-view of the Sarvāstivādins and that of the Sthaviras. Elaborating this aspect, E. Lamotte in his *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien* (1958) suggested that some time during the period of the great schism and differences of opinion which continued even after the time of Aśoka, the Vātsiputriyas made extensive studies on the Abhidharma and the differences of interpretations gave rise at least to four new schools, each of which appended its own interpretation to the sections of the Abhidharma. These four new schools were known as Dharmottarīya, Bhadrayānīya, Sāmmitīya and Sannagārika. It was roughly in the same period that the Mahāsaṅghika school produced a new offshoot called the Lokottaravādins. It should also be noted in this connection that according to the northern Buddhist tradition the council held at the time of Kaṇiṣka was the third in the series, because the northern Buddhists did not recognise the council which was said to have convened at Pāṭaliputra during the reign of Aśoka. But in view of the uniform testimony of the later Theravāda tradition relating to the council of Pāṭaliputra[1] the proba-

[1]*Dīpavaṃsa*, V. 55-59, VII. 37-59 (ed. Oldenberg, London, 1879, pp. 38, 52-53), W. Geiger, *Mahāvaṃsa*, Ch. V. *PTS*, 1908, pp. 28-55; S.A. Strong (ed),

bility of an assembly of the Sthaviravādins cannot be ruled out[1] especially in view of what had been suggested by Bareau in regard to the crisis that the Sthaviravāda school facing at that time.

Bareau's famous work on the Buddhist sects entitled *Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Vehicule* was published from Saigon also in 1955.[2] In this work he dealt with different traditions about the origin of the sects and divided them chronologically in three epochs, the first consisting of the sects mentioned in the Ceylonese *Dīpavaṃsa*, the second of those mentioned in the Sāmmitīya tradition of Bhavya and the third of those mentioned in the Kashmirian sources like the Chinese translation of *Sāriputra-paripṛcchā* of the Mahāsaṅghikas, the *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* of Vasumitra and *Manjusriparipṛcchā* available only in Chinese translation. Buddhaghoṣa in his introduction to the commentary on the *Kathāvatthu* added six sects to the list of the *Dīpavaṃsa*, viz., Rājagirikas, Siddhaṭṭhikas, Pubbaseliyas, Aparaseliyas, Haimavatas and Vājiriyas, grouping the first four under the Andhakas. The last two were probably included in the Uttarāpathakas. Other sects like the Haimavatas, Vetullakas, Ekabbohārikas, Paññattivādins and Bahuśrutiyas of the northern branch of the Cetiyavādins are mentioned in this tradition. Some of these formed the subsects of the Mahāsaṅghikas. The Sāmmitīya tradition placed the Haimavatas under the Sthavira group and identified the Hetuvādins with Sarvāstivādins. It followed the Ceylonese tradition about the subsects of the Mahāsaṅghikas. In the Kashmirian tradition the Haimavatas are variously described as belonging to Sthaviravāda and Sarvāstivāda. Here the subdivisions of the Mahāsaṅghikas are enlarged by the addition of Lokottaravāda, Aparaśaila, Purvaśaila and Uttaraśaila, Bareau was not inclined to contribute to the idea of Lin-Li-Kouang that there were two groups of the Mahāsaṅghikas, the northern having liberal disciplinary views and Mahāyanic leanings, and the southern claiming origin from the Sthaviras and the Vātsiputrīyas.

Bareau's work which was published in 1955 is regarded as one of the most authoritative works on Buddhist sects. As early as in 1925,

Mahābodhivaṃsa, PTS, 1891, pp. 110-17; J. Takakusu and M. Nagai ed., *Samantapāsādikā, PTS*, 1924, I, pp. 60-69.

[1]cf. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896, p. 110; E. J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London, 1951, p. 36.

[2]Also published in *BEFEO*, 1956.

N. Dutt published a book under the title *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools* which was a general study on the Buddhist sects in which a historical background, the chronological problems, the epigraphical and literary evidences, origin and home of the sects, the history of a few important sects and kindred subjects had been discussed in details. In Dutt's opinion, the great schism in the Buddhist Saṅgha was due mainly to the five dogmas of Mahādeva than to the divergences in the Vinaya rules, because the former indicated that Arhats were not fully perfect persons as was the view of the orthodox Theravādins. Texts of various traditions were comparatively studied also in M. Walleser's *Die Sekten des Alten Buddhismus* which came out from Heidelberg in 1927. The discovery and publication of the Gilgit manuscripts by Dutt (1939-1950) in eight volumes marked an epoch in the field of sectarian studies. Among these manuscript finds a portion of the Vinayapiṭaka belonging to the Mūlasarvāstivādins was discovered which had been incorporated in the third volume. The order of the chapters of this text is as follows: (i) Pravrajyā (ii) Poṣadha (iii) Pravaraṇā (iv) Varṣā (v) Carma (vi) Bhaiṣajya (vii) Cīvara (viii) Kaṭhina (ix) Kosambaka (x) Karma (xi) Pāṇḍulohitaka (xii) Pudgala (xiii) Parivāsika (xiv) Poṣadhasthāpana (xv) Śayanāsana and (xvi) Saṅghabheda. This vinaya when compared to the one in Pali reveals clearly a chronological advance. The Sanskrit text is indicative of a later and more developed form of the monastic institution of the Buddhists. Linguistically it shows that it was based on some Pali-Sanskrit original. Many of the idioms used in it closely follow Pali-Prakrit traditions and there are also incorrect Sanskritization of Pali-Prakrit words. Where the Sanskrit original is not clear Dutt has supplied corresponding Tibetan readings.

We have already had the occasion to refer to Lamotte's *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien* (1958) and his views on Buddhist sects. He had also furnished us with a tabular statement of the geographical distribution of several schools on the basis of the inscriptions discovered so far. On the basis of new light thrown by Bareau and Lamotte in regard to the Buddhist sects two important works were published in 1970. The first one is A.K. Warder's *Indian Buddhism* which describes the subject on the basis of the comparison of all available original sources in various languages. The second part of this work traces the development of the eighteen schools of early Buddhism in which Warder has attempted to show that all the eighteen schools of early

Buddhism elaborated their doctrines out of a common kernel. His treatment shows to what extent the Sthaviravāda of the Pali tradition among others, had added to or modified the original doctrine. Besides textual data, Warder banked upon the works of Bareau and Lamotte in determining the geographical distribution of the sects which had been sufficiently brought in relation to the doctrinal peculiarities of each of them. In this work he has analysed and classified the vast textual material and has thrown significant light especially on the Sthaviravādins, Caitikas, Lokottaras, Bahuśrutiyas and the Sarvāstivādins in terms of the socio-political conditions of the Ceylonese, Sātavāhana and Kuṣāṇa kingdoms, and the art activities of the period. Sectarian migrations or expansions in south-east Asia have also been dealt with. The second work is N. Dutt's *Buddhist Sects*. It is a revised and enlarged form on the basis of modern researches of the second volume of his previously published second part of *Early Monastic Buddhism*. In this work Dutt has not only made an analytical study of the treatises of Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva, but also of the *Kathāvatthu* and its commentary by Buddhaghoṣa as well as of the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, the *Sāmmitiya-nikāya-śāstra* and the Gilgit manuscripts containing the original Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya. An epilogue is given in which attempts have been made to show how Mahāyanism developed as natural consequence of the views of the Mahāsaṅghikas and as a development of the nebulous conception of Bodhisattva and of the Kāyas of the Buddha. An appendix has also been added to this book giving a synopsis of the ancient geography of India as described by Hiuen Tsang throwing light on the dispersal of the Buddhist sects in India along with a brief account of I-tsing on Buddhist sects and the areas where they existed at his time.[1]

[1]Among some other works on Buddhist sects mention may be made of P. Demiéville, A propos du concile de Vaisāli, *T'oung Pao*, XL, 1951, pp. 239-296; E. Frauwallner, Die bouddhistischen konzile, *ZDMG*, CII, 1952, pp. 240-261; A. Bareau, *Les premiers conciles bouddhiques*, Paris, 1955; L. Alsdorf, Aśokas Schismen-Edikt und das Dritte konzil, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, III, 1959, pp. 161-74; H. Bechert, Aśokas 'Schismen-Edikt' und der Begriff sanghabheda *Weiner Zeitschrift für die kunde Süd-und Ostasiens*, v, 1961, pp. 18-52.

Chapter 4

Mahāyānic Studies

Earlier works on Buddhism were mainly based upon the Mahāyānic sources, because the Tibetan and the Chinese texts were the first to reach the European scholars. The first significant work on Buddhism—Burnouf's *Introduction a l' Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien* which was published as early as in 1844—although referred to the Pali sources, was mainly based upon the Mahāyānic works like the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, the *Prajñāpāramitās*, the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, etc. Burnouf's Mahāyānic leaning was expressed in his French translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*[1] and portions of the *Vajrasūci*.[2] Vasilev's *Buddhism* (1859), mentioned above, contained copious extracts from the Avataṃsakas, the Ratnakūṭas and the Dhāraṇis of the Tibetan and Chinese canon as well as the Chinese versions of the biographies of the great poets and philosophers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The long series of important texts in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* of Leningrad, edited and translated by the colleagues of Minayeff, led a host of scholars to devote themselves to the study of Mahāyāna Buddhist texts. The Franco-Belgian school headed by Levi, Poussin and others contributed in no small measure to the study of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

But in spite of all these, in the case of Mahāyānic studies, as Conze has rightly observed : "Our picture of it is still that of the old 19th century map of Africa, with some patches here and there at the edges, but with the vast interior left empty and white, filled only with conjecture and surmise."[3] The works of Kuroda, Suzuki, McGovern, Kimura, Dutt and others,[4] published between the last decade of the

[1]*Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, Paris, 1852.

[2]*The Vajrasuci*, long extracts of which had been translated by Burnouf, was previously edited and translated by Weber in 1839 in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Berlin*.

[3]E. Conze, loc. cit.

[4]S. Kuroda, *Outlines of Mahāyāna*, London, 1893, D.T. Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, London, 1907; W.M. McGovern, *Introduction to Mahāyāna*

19th century and the first quarter of the twentieth, no doubt purport to present in a historical outline the origin and development of Mahāyānic ideas and practices, but the vast and varied theoretical formulations as found in the scholastic literature of the Mahāyāna, the immense mythological and cultic speculations, the ritualistic intricacies deriving their ingredients from varied levels of culture and many other components by which the Mahāyāna is characterised, point to the fact that it is not a single or homogenous system. It is generally believed that Mahāyānism is characterised by (i) the conception of Bodhisattva, (ii) the practice of Pāramitās, (iii) the development of Bodhicitta (iv) the ten stages of spiritual progress, (v) the goal of Buddhahood, (vi) the conception of Trikāya and (vii) the conception of Dharmaśūnyatā or Dharmasamatā or Tathatā, and that these are the developments of certain earlier ideas held by the Mahāsaṅghikas which have been finally culminated in the elaborate system of Mahāyāna through a historical process. In the case of certain ideas this may hold good, but the Mahāyāna as a whole cannot be the development of ideas inherent in the Hīnayāna or in any of its schools. It is proved by the fact that we have historical evidences to show that both the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna flourished at the same place simultaneously and side by side, even in the same monastery. Secondly, excepting very few ideas and practices, the vast mass of heterogeneous materials of Mahāyāna have no organic or genetic connection with Hīnayāna. There origins should be traced elsewhere.

Earlier scholars, however, held a different view. At the initial stages of researches in Buddhism it was believed that Buddhism was a religion based on the cult of the Buddha who was regarded as the Supreme Being, the all-pervading entity controlling the universe, the ultimate reality existing as the basic ingredients and true nature of everything, often conceived as having a celestial or divine form (Sambhoga-Kāya) in which he appears before the highly spiritual persons and occasionally incarnating himself as human or Mānuṣī Buddha like Gautama in his Nirmāna or Rūpa Kāya for the sake of

Buddhism, London, 1922; R. Kimura, *Historical Studies of the Terms Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna and Outline of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, Calcutta University, 1927; N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Its Relation to Hīnayāna*, London, 1930; B.L. Suzuki, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, London, 1938.

the welfare of beings. This popular religion based on the cult of Buddha, existing from a hoary antiquity, had in course of its long survival associated itself with numerous beliefs and ideas, rituals and practices, and these superimposed elements, very often having no link with each other, came to be designated under the general title 'Mahāyāna'. Although this view has received quite a diminishing importance among the scholars of the subsequent period, it cannot be rejected at once. Rather this viewpoint has the probability of explaining the existence of many a baffling and heterogeneous element which developed as accretions on an original Kernel, based on a primitive cult of the Buddha.

At the dawn of Buddhological studies, there had been a controversy between the French scholar E. Burnouf and the Russian scholar V. Vasilev on the question whether Buddhism could be better understood from the Indian or also from the Chinese and Tibetan sources. According to the former, only Indian sources provided evidence on genuine Buddhism while the latter held that Buddhism in the totality of its development could be understood only from Tibetan and Chinese sources in addition to the Indian ones. Vasilev's viewpoint enabled him to determine the exact meaning of the crucial term *Śūnyatā* in which he had discovered under a dialectical terminology an idea similar to absolute idealism of the West. Studies in Mahāyāna philosophical treatises, according to a group of authorities, especially belonging to the Russian school had substantiated Vasilev's viewpoint. While the Pali school discovered in Mahāyāna nothing but degeneration and nihilism, Minayeff in his *Recherches*, Stcherbatsky in his *Central Conception of Buddhism* and *Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, and Rosenberg in his *Problems of Buddhist Philosophy* had claimed to have established the exact meaning of the basic technical terms of the system, e.g., the term *dharma* meaning elements of existence, the term *samskāra* meaning co-operating elements of existence and the term *pratityasamutpāda* meaning co-operation of the elements of existence. The three terms were referred to one and the same system of pluralistic empiricism, which was the core of early Buddhism. O. Rosenberg had given to Buddhism the name of a dharma-theory and indeed, Buddhism in the three main forms of its development was nothing but a theory of *dharma-s* i.e., a system of a plurality of ultimate elements of reality to which a monistic foundation had been added in the Mahāyāna.

The greater portion of Mahāyānic studies is saturated with theoretical formulation of the types mentioned above and the scholastic controversies involved therein, penetration into which is a matter of proverbial difficulty. Some of the formulations will however be discussed in the next chapter dealing with philosophical speculations. Here we want to confine ourselves only to the task of conveying information relating to the editions and translations of some important Mahāyānic texts. In Sanskrit, pure or mixed, there are several independent works, belonging to different schools of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna but containing ingredients of Mahāyāna. Of these, the *Mahāvastu* is a compendium of different subjects aiming at establishing the *Lokottara* or supramundane character of the Buddha. This text belonged to the Lokottaravādin sect. It was originally edited by E. Senart between 1882 and 1897 in three volumes with a valuable survey of its contents and important comments.[1] The English translation of the *Lalitavistara*, an incomplete biographical account of the Buddha, upto Ch. XV, was published by R.L. Mitra between 1853 and 1877 from the MS. belonging to the Hodgson collection.[2] In 1892 S. Levi published the first chapter of the *Buddhacarita* which was subsequently edited and translated into English in 1893 by E.B. Cowell.[3] His *Saundarānanda* was discovered and edited

[1]A survey of its contents was also given by R.L.Mitra in his *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, pp. 115-61 and also by Vallee Poussin in *ERE*, VIII, pp. 328ff. The *Mahāvastu* was subsequently translated into English by J.J. Jones, *PTS*, 3 vols. 1949-56. See R.G. Basak, *Study on the Mahāvastu Avadāna*, Calcutta, 1961; Bhikṣu T. Rahula, *A Critical Study of the Mahāvastu*, Delhi, 1978.

[2]*Bib. Ind.*, reprint, 1881-86. A French translation was made by Foucaux published in 1847 which was reprinted in *Annales de Musee Guimet*, VI and XIX, 1884, 1892. S. Lefmann's edition of the *Lalitavistara* was published in 2 vols. between 1902 and 1908 which was subsequently reprinted by P.L. Vaidya in *BST*, Darbhanga, 1858.

[3]*Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series*, I, pt. VII, 1893. Eng. tr. in *SBE*, LIX, 1893. The German translation of the French version of the *Buddhacarita* by Hans Ludwig came out in 1912. An Italian tr. of the same by C. Formichi was also published in 1912. Three other German translations were published during the twenties: C. Cappeller, 1922, R. Schmidt 1924 and F. Weller, Tibetan text with German tr. 2 vols. 1926, 1928. Eng. tr. by E.H. Johnston, Panjab University, 1935. Two Sanskrit fragments of the *Buddhacarita* found from Central Asia were edited by Weller in *Abhandlungen der Sāchsischen Akademie der Wissenchaften zu Leipzig*, 1953.

by H.P. Sastri in 1910.[1] It is well known that the Jātakas and Avadānas were meant for popularising Buddhist faith among the laymen. They did not originally form part of the Buddhist scriptures. The floating mass of stories contained in these works, connected with the Buddha or his incarnations were utilised alike by the Hīnayānists as well as by the Mahāyānists and these are found both in the Pali and the Sanskrit traditions. In the branch of Avadāna literature, the *Divyāvadāna* was edited by E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil in 1886 and its French translation by L. Feer came out in 1891.[2] The *Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra was edited by H. Kern in 1891.[3] Rockhill brought out in 1897 *Tibetan Buddhist Birth Stories : Extracts and Translations from Kandjur* (Kanjur).[4]

Leaving aside these semi-Mahāyānic texts, or texts having Mahāyānic elements, we shall now come to the texts belonging directly to the Mahāyāna. Since the texts deal with heterogeneous materials, which cannot be classified on the basis of the contents, it is better to follow the accepted textual classifications. Of the Mahāyāna *Sūtra* class of texts, nine are regarded as most important, which are, besides the *Lalitavistara* mentioned above, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the *Laṅkāvatara*, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, the *Tathāgataguhyaka*, the *Samādhirāja* and the *Daśabhūmīśvara*. Of these, the *Tathāgataguhyaka* or *Guhyasamāja* contains Tantric materials in abundance, and hence it will be described in the chapter on Tantric Buddhism. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* from the viewpoint of contents belongs to a different class of literature. It therefore requires to be dealt with separately in connection with other texts belonging to this class. According to Conze, perhaps five percent of the Mahāyānic Sūtras had so far been rightly edited and perhaps two percent intelligibly translated. But this view appears to be exaggerated. There is reason to believe that the Tibetan and Chinese studies of the last 150 years have given us sufficient materials for a proper understanding

[1]A critical edition with notes by E.H. Johnston of this text came out in 1928 and tr. by the same in 1932 (Panjab University Oriental Series).

[2]The *Avadānaśataka* was edited by J.S. Speyer in 2 vols. in 1906-9 (*Bib. Bud.*). Published in Nagari characters by P.L. Vaidya, *BST*, 1958.

[3]*HOS*, I, Eng. tr. by J. Speyer in *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, *PTS*, I. 1895.

[4]*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XVIII, 1897, pp. 1ff.

of different aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The Chinese texts are mainly available in the Taisho edition started since 1924 and the Tibetan in Kyoto edition prepared from the old Peking edition of 1763-95.

We have already had the occasion to refer to Burnouf's edition of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* which was published as early as in 1852. An English translation of this text was published by H. Kern in 1884.[1] In this text the Buddha is represented as a god, an infinitely exalted being, living throughout eternity. It is by offering worship to him that a man can attain highest enlightenment. The title "the Lotus of the good Religion" has been explained by M. Anasaki as follows: "The lotus is a symbol of purity and perfection because it grows out of mud but is not defiled—just as Buddha is born into the world but lives above the world; and because its fruits are said to be ripe when the flower blooms,—just as the truth preached by Buddha bears immediately the fruit of enlightenment." The work was first translated into Chinese in 227 AD. This translation has not come down to us, but we have those of Dharmarakṣa and Kumarājīva, and also of Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta. Fragments of this text were found in Eastern Turkestan, but these show divergence from the accepted version, thus proving the existence of two recensions. The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* was edited by B. Nanjio in 1923 which came out from Kyoto.[2] This text reflects the earlier stages of Vijñānavāda or Yogācāra, the doctrine which denies the reality of the external world, but affirms the reality of consciousness. It was translated into Chinese by Guṇabhadra (443 AD), Bodhiruci (513 AD) and Sikṣānanda (700 AD). The *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* was edited by S.C. Das in 1898.[3] In Central Asia fragments of this work had been discovered. It is said that the essentials of this text were expounded in China by Kasyapa Mataṅga as early as during

[1] *SBE*, XXI, Sanskrit ed. by Kern and Nanjio, *Bib. Bud.*, 1908-12. Wogihara's ed. of the text came out in 1934. A new edition of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* was made by W. Baruch and a preparatory study of the same was published in German in 1938. The text had also been edited by N. Dutt, *Bib. Ind.*, 1952. The version found in Central Asia was translated by F. Weller in 1965.

[2] Eng. tr. by D.T. Suzuki, London, 1932.

[3] Sanskrit ed. Nanjio, 1931; Nobel, Leipzig, 1937, Tibetan, Uigur and Chinese by the same in 1958 (Leiden); tr. from Tibetan, idem, 1944; from Chinese, 1958.

the reign of Ming-ti. Its Chinese translation by Dharmakṣema (414-33 AD), Paramārtha and his pupils (552-57 AD) and I-tsing (703 AD) have come down to us. The contents of this text are partly philosophical and ethical. It contains many legends. Influence of Tantrism is clearly met with in some passages.

The Sanskrit edition of *Daśabhūmaka* (*Daśabhūmika*) or *Daśabhūmīśvara* was published by J. Rahder from Louvain in 1926.[1] It is regarded as a portion of the Avataṃsaka, but it is found just as frequently as an independent work. The theme of this work is a discourse on the ten steps (*daśabhūmi*) by which Buddhahood may be attained. It was translated into Chinese in 297 AD by Dharmarakṣa. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* was edited by Suzuki and Idzumi which came out from Kyoto in 1934-36. It corresponds to one of the Chinese translations of the Avataṃsaka. Its main contents are the wanderings of the youth Sudhana in quest of enlightenment who attained it through the favour of Mañjuśrī. It should be mentioned in this connection that the lexical work *Mahāvyutpatti* mentions a work called *Buddhāvataṃsaka* in the list of Mahāyāna Sūtras. Evidently this text belonged to the Avataṃsaka school which flourished in China in the sixth century AD and in Japan among the Kegon sect. According to the Chinese sources there were six different Avataṃsaka-Sūtras, the longest of which contained 100,000 Gāthās and the shortest 36,000. No Avataṃsaka Sūtra has come down to us in Sanskrit. Only in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, as has been stated above, we come across a correspondence to this class of literature. Of other Mahāyānic Sūtras the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, completely devoted to the cult of Avalokiteśvara, is preserved in Sanskrit in two versions, and earlier one in prose and a later one in Ślokas.[2] It relates how at the beginning of all things, Ādi Buddha, the self-existent, appeared and created the world through meditation, and incarnated himself as Avalokiteśvara for the welfare of beings. The Tibetan translation in the Kanjur, dating about 616

[1] *The Dāśabhūmaka*, the text in Sanskrit and Tibetan of which with a French translation of Chs. I-VI had previously been edited and published by Vallee Poussin in *Le Museom* between 1907 and 1911, was re-edited in 1926, and its chapter on the seventh *bhūmi* was translated into English by J. Rahder who also made a valuable glossary (1928-29) of this work after its Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese versions. An ed. of *Daśabhūmīśvera* was published by Kondo in 1936.

[2] Edited respectively by S.B. Samasrami and S.C. Sastri, Calcutta, 1873 and 1898.

AD, is based upon the prose version, which, however, makes no mention of Ādi Buddha. There is also the *Samādhirāja* dealing with the science of meditation, showing how a Bodhisattva can attain the highest knowledge by means of various meditations.

The Prajñāpāramitās are of the nature of philosophical treatises. The term denotes wisdom and perfection. This wisdom consists of the knowledge of *Śūnyatā* or vacuity (equated with Prajñā) and perfection of six kinds of meritorious acts (*pāramitā*). The Prajñāpāramitās belong to the earliest Mahāyāna Sūtras, since a *Prajñāp* was already translated into Chinese as early as 179 AD. According to the Nepalese tradition the original *Prajñāp* consisted of 125,000 ślokas, but was abridged later in various versions. Another tradition says that the *Prajñāp* of 800 ślokas was the original one which was gradually enlarged and shortened more and more. Hiuen Tsang translated 12 *Prajñāps*, the longest one having 100,000 and the shortest 150 ślokas. In the Tibetan Kanjur there are translations of the *Prajñāps* 100,000, 25,000, 18,000, 10,000, 8,000, 800, 700, 500, and 300, (*Vajracchedikā*) ślokas right down to Alpākṣarās (*Prajñāps* of very few syllables) and even one Ekākṣarī (i.e., of one syllable). The following have come down to us is Sanskrit: *Prajñāps* of 100,000 ślokas (Śatasāhasrikā), of 25,000 (Pañcaviṃsatisāhasrikā), of 8,000 (Aṣṭasāhasrikā) of 2,500 (Sārdhadvisāhasrikā) of 700 (Sapta-śatikā, of 300 (Vajracchedikā) and also the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtras* which were used only as protecting magic formulas (Dhāraṇis). In all probability the earliest of these writings is the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā (8,000) which was on the one hand expanded into larger works, and also condensed into shorter texts.

The *Prajñāpāramitā* literature has a unique position in the Mahāyāna. Whatever might have been the original significance of the *pāramitās*, the texts of the Mahāyāna tradition have a clear Tantric leaning towards the cult of a Female Principle. Among texts belonging to this class of literature, as early as in 1881, the *Vajracchedikā*, also known as *Prajñāp 300*, was edited and translated by Max Müller.[1] The *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (Prajñāp 8000) was edited by R. Mitra in 1888.[2] An unfinished edition of the Sanskrit Prajñāp

[1]Oxford, 1881, reprinted in Vaidya's *BST*, Eng. tr. in *SBE*, XLIX, 1884.

[2]*Bib. Ind.*, Calcutta. It was subsequently edited by Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932-35 along with Haribhadra's commentary known as *Abhisamayālaṅkāraloka*,

100,000 made by R. Ghosh was published from Calcutta between 1902 and 1914, in the Bibliotheca Indica series. The Sanskrit fragments of *Prajñāp* 150, mixed with Khotanese translation, were edited by Leumann in *Zur nordarische sprache* (1912). Selected texts of this class of literature were published by Max Walleser (1914) and G. Tucci (1923).[1] The *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-kārikā* also known as *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa-śāstra* of Maitreyanātha was edited in 1929 along with its Tibetan version and an English translation and explanatory notes by Th. Stcherbatsky and E. Obermiller.[2] The *Prajñāp* 25,000 has two recensions in Tibetan, the later one corresponding to the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*. The Chinese has only the earlier edition.[3] Two chapters from Tibetan *Prajñāp* 10,000 were retranslated into Sanskrit by S. Konow in 1941. E. Lamotte published a French translation in two volumes (1944-1949) of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, the commentary of Nāgārjuna on *Pañcaviṃśa-prajñāpāramitā*, after its Chinese version.[4] K. Venkata Ramanan's *Nāgārjuna's Philosophy* explains the basic conceptions of Mahāyāna Buddhism as found in this *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*. The Sanskrit edition of *Prajñāp* 2,500, also known as *Suvikrāntavikrāmiparipṛcchā* was published by Hikata in 1958. Special studies on the Prajñāpāramitā literature were undertaken by E. Conze which included the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (tr. with Sanskrit-Tibetan Index, 1954), *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā* (1957), *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (1968), *The Gilgit Mss of Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (1962), *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature* (1966), *Materials for a Dictionary of the Prajñāpāramitā Literature* (1967), etc.

the Sanskrit version of which was edited by G. Tucci, *GOS*, 1932. A translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāparamitā* made by H.P. Sastri was published by the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta.

[1]Sanskrit version of *Prajñāp* 700 was published by Tucci in *Memorie d. R. Accademia dei Lincei* 1923; cf. Masuda in *Journal of the Taisho University*, 1930. The Sanskrit version is reprinted in *BST*.

[2]cf. H.P. Sastri in *JASB*, 1910, pp. 425ff. The section on Trikāya (Ch. VI) of the text and the commentary was translated into French by P. Massion Oursel in *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, pp. 598ff.

[3]The Sanskrit version of the later one was partly edited by N. Dutt, Calcutta Oriental Series, 1934.

[4]*Le Traite de la grande vertu du Sagesse*, I, 1944 (Chs. I-XV), II, 1949 (Chs. XVI-30).

Of other Mahāyāna texts which may be assigned to the Sūtra category, the *Ratnakūṭa*, like the Avataṃsaka, constitutes a large section both of the Chinese Tripiṭaka and of the Tibetan Kanjur. It is a collection of 49 Sūtras, including among others, the long *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, the *Akṣobhya-vyūha*, the *Mañjuśrī-Buddhakṣetra-Guṇa-Vyūha*, the *Pitāputrasamāgama*, the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, and the *Paripṛcchās* (or questions with corresponding answers). Of these the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, which is often identified with the entire *Ratnakūṭa* itself was edited in the light of the Tibetan and Chinese versions in 1926 by A. Von Stael-Holstein who also published valuable fragments of the Sanskrit original of this work which were found in the neighbourhood of Khotan. Its commentary known as *Kāśyapaparivartaṭīka*, found in the Tibetan and Chinese, was also edited by the same which came out from Peking in 1933. Further Sanskrit fragments of this text found from Central Asia began to be published by V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky since 1955. Among the numerous *Paripṛcchās*, the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā* is of much importance, the Sanskrit version of which, edited by L. Finot, was published in the Bibliotheca Buddhica in 1901.[1] It consists of two parts the first of which contains the Buddha's reply to Rāṣṭrapāla's questions on the qualities of a Bodhisattva while the second part relates the Jātaka of Prince Puṇyaraśmi whose story has a few features in common with the Buddha legend. The Chinese translation of this text was made between 585 and 592 AD. An English translation of the same text made by J. Ensink under the title *Question of Raṣṭrapāla* came out in 1952.

As early as in 1883 the Sanskrit version of the *Sukhāvati-vyūha* was edited and published by Max Müller from Oxford.[2] The text is devoted to the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha, and hence in the Chinese version it is also known by such names as *Amitābhavyūha*, *Amitābha-parivarta*, etc. Two versions of this text have come down to us in Sanskrit, one of considerable length and the other much shorter. Of the twelve Chinese translations of the longer *Sukhāvati-vyūha*, which are said to have existed, five have come down to us in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, the earliest of which was made between 147 and 186 AD.

[1]It was subsequently published in *Indo-Iranian Reprints*, The Hague, 1957 and by P.L. Vaidya in *BST*, I, 1961.

[3]Reprinted in *BST*, 1961. This text was subsequently edited by Wogihara which came out from Tokyo in 1931. The *Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra* was translated from Chinese by Takakusu in *SBE*, XLIX, pp. 159ff.

The shorter *Sukhāvati-vyūha* was translated into Chinese three times by Kumārajīva, Guṇabhadra and Hiuen Tsang. A third work, the *Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra*, has come down to us only in the Chinese translation. Of other texts which may somehow be placed in the Sūtra category, the Sanskrit edition of *Ratnaguṇasamcayagāthā* made by Obermiller was published in 1937 in the Bibliotheca Indica series.[1] The *Sandhinirmocana* was edited and translated from Tibetan by Lamotte in 1935 (Louvain), and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, with corresponding Sanskrit fragments, in 1962. It is to be remembered that although the Mahāyānists have no Vinaya of their own and that they depend on the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvastivāda and the Dharmaguptaka, the Tibetan sources, however, contain a *Vinayasūtra* and its *Vṛtti* composed by Guṇaprabha, and also two other works, *Vinayasūtra-ṭīka* written by Dharmamitra and *Vinayasūtravyākhyāna* written by Prajñākara.

Since the contents of Mahāyāna literature are as varied as the degrees of mental and intellectual levels attained by different groups, and since much of such contents, especially in regard to cults and rituals has found better expression in later Pāramitāyāna and Mantrayāna giving rise to various Tantric forms of Buddhism, we propose to deal with all these in the chapter on Tantric Buddhism. Here we shall confine ourselves to the textual studies belonging to the philosophical schools of Mahāyāna, although the works dealing the intricacies of different Buddhist systems of thought will be mentioned in the next chapter. The greatest exponent of the Mādhyamika school was Nāgārjuna. The *Dharmasaṃgraha*, attributed to him, was edited by Kasawara, Max Müller and Wenzel in 1885 which has much in common with the Buddhist lexicon *Mahāvyutpatti*.[2] Guṇavarman's Chinese translation of Nāgārjuna's *Suhṛllekha* was translated into English in 1887 by S. Beal[3] and its Tibetan version in 1886 by H. Wenzel.[4] This text, so much praised by I-tsing, has however nothing to do with the Mādhyamika doctrines. It is only in the Mādhyamika Kārikās or Sūtras that we come across a systematic

[1]Subsequently published in *Indo-Iranian Reprints*, 1961; reprinted by P.L. Vaidya, with the help of an additional MS. in *BST*, 1961.

[2]Ed. Minayeff in *Bib. Bud.*, XIII, 1911.

[3]*Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 169ff.

[4]*JPTS*, 1886, pp. 1ff.

exposition of Śūnyavāda as taught by Nāgārjuna. The work consists of 400 memorial verses or *Kārikās* in 27 chapters on which Nāgārjuna himself wrote a commentary known as *Akutobhaya*, surviving only in Tibetan translation. The commentaries by Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka have also come down in Tibetan translation only. The commentary entitled *Prasannapadā* by Candrakīrti is the only one which we possess in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit text of the *Mādhyamika-Kārikās* were edited with Candrakīrti's commentary by Vallee Poussin (1903-13).[1] The Tibetan version of the *Mādhyamika-Kārikās* was translated by Max Walleser in 1911 while the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* and *Mahāyānaviṃśaka*, attributed to Nāgārjuna, were edited with Tibetan text and French translation in the case of the former by Vallee Poussin (1913)[2] and with Tibetan and Chinese text and English translation in the case of the latter by Yamaguchi.[3] The former treats of the doctrine of the causally dependent origination in seven Āryā stanzas while the latter is a short philosophical treatise teaching that there is neither the world nor the Nirvāṇa and that every thing is mere illusion and dream. Nāgārjuna's *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* was translated into German from the Chinese version by Philip Schaffer (1923-24). The *Vigrahavyavartanī* as well as its commentary were edited from Tibetan by Johnston and Kunst in 1951[4] and the *Vaidalyasūtra* from Tibetan in 1965 by Kajiyama.[5] The Romanised text with English translation, introduction and notes of the former, has been published by K. Bhattacharya (1978) under the title *The Dialectical Method of Nāgārjuna* in with the celebrated edition of Johnston and Kunst is incorporated along with an easy and literal English translation.

Among the works of other exponents of the Mādhyamika school Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* was published in 1894 by the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta. A better edition of this work made from Tibetan and Sanskrit sources with the commentary of Prajñākaramati, was published by Vallee Poussin (1901-14)[6] while his *Śikṣāsa-*

[1] *Bib. Bud.*, Chs. I and XXV of the *Mūlamadhyamakārikā* were translated by Stcherbatsky (1927), Chs. V, X, XII-XVI by St. Schayer (1929-31), XVII by Lamotte and XVIII-XXII by de Jong (1936), and II-IV, VI-IX, XI, XXIII-XXIV. XXVI-XXVII by May (1959).

[2] *Bouddhisme, E'tudes et Materiaux*, pp. 122ff.

[3] *The Eastern Buddhist*, IV, pp. 56ff, 169ff.

[4] *Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, IX, 1951.

[5] *Miscellanea Indologica Kiotiensia*, Kyoto Univ., 1965.

[6] *Bib. Ind.*, rep. by Vaidya in *BST*, 1960. French. tr. by Vallee Poussin

muccaya was edited by C. Bendall (1897, 1902) and translated into English by Bendell and W.H.D. Rouse (1922).[1] The *Mādhyamikāvatāra* of Candrakīrti, which had come down to us in Tibetan Tanjur was edited after its Tibetan version by Vallee Poussin (1912) and also translated by him in French.[2] His commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamika-kārikās*, known as *Prasannapadā* was edited by Vallee Poussin (1903-13) and translated by Stcherbatsky and others (1927 ff). The Sanskrit fragments of Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka* were discovered and edited in 1914 by H.P. Sastri.[3] It consists of 400 *Kārikās* like the Mādhyamika Sūtras. With Candrakīrti's commentary it belongs to the fundamental works of the Mādhyamika school. Āryadeva has defended Nāgārjuna's doctrines not only against other Buddhist schools, but also against Brahmanical systems. Fragments of the commentary made by Candrakīrti were edited, with an attempt to reconstruct the text, by Vidhusekhar Bhattacharyya (1926-31). The Chinese (Chs. IX-XVI) and Tibetan versions of *Catuḥsataka* were translated into Italian by Tucci in 1925. V.V. Gokhale had tried to restore into Sanskrit a Mādhyamika text, the *Akṣaraśataka* of Āryadeva with the help of its Tibetan and Chinese versions in *JBBRAS*, XXII, 1946. Buddhapālita's *Mulamādhyamakavṛtti* was partly edited from Tibetan by M. Walleser in 1913-14. Walleser also had edited the Tibetan version of Bhāvaviveka's *Prajñāpradīpa* in 1914 which belonged to the Svātantrika group of the Mādhyamakas.[4] His *Karatalaratna* was translated from the Chinese by Aiyasvami in 1949.[5] Portions of Kamalaśīla's *Bhavanā-krama* also belonging to this group were edited by Tucci in 1958.

The credit of establishing the Vijñānavāda or Yogācāra school goes

(1907) and L. Finot (1920). Italian tr. by G. Tucci. A Mongolian version of this text was published (*Bib. Bud.*) in 1921. Bengali tr. of *Bodhicaryāvatāra* by Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya came out in 1947.

[1] Ed. *Bib. Bud.*, rep. *Indo-Iranian Reprints*, 1957; tr. Indian Text Series, London, 1922.

[2] *Bib. Bud.*, X, 1907-12; tr. in *Le Museon*, NS, VII (1907), XI (1910) and XII (1911).

[3] *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, III, pp. 449-514.

[4] Some portion of this text was translated by Kajiyama in *Wiener Zeitschrift fur de kunde Sud-und Ostasien*, VII, 1963; VIII, 1964.

[5] *Viśvabhāratī Studies*, IX. cf. Vallee Poussin in *Melanges Chinois Bouddhiques*, II, 1933.

to Maitreyanātha (*c.* AD 270-350) whose *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-Kārikā*, *Madhyāntavibhāga* (vibhaṅga) and *Bodhisattvabhūmi* are extant in Sanskrit. Some of his works like *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* (edited in two volumes in 1907 and 1911, with a French translation by S. Levi) were attributed to Asaṅga who was his disciple and the celebrated author of *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* (edited after its Tibetan version along with a translation in French in two volumes 1938-39 by E. Lamotte)[1], *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (Sanskrit edition reconstructed from Tibetan and Chinese sources by P. Pradhan in 1950), *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* (edited from Tibetan by Wogihara 1930-36), etc. Vasubandhu after his conversion into Yogācāra expounded the system in 20 and 30 *Kārikās* known as *Vimśatikā* and *Triṃśikā* (Sanskrit edition and translation by S. Levi, 1925, 1932). Vasubandhu had a large number of disciples among whom may be mentioned Guṇamati, Sthiramati, Diṅnāga, Saṅghadāsa, Dharmadāsa, Dharmapāla and Vimuktasena celebrated for their scholarly works which will be dealt with in the chapter on philosophical studies.

Of other texts belonging to various categories of Mahāyāna, the *Bhakti-śataka* was edited by Silaskandha in 1885 which was translated into English in 1893 by H.P. Sastri.[2] The *Amitāyurdhyāna-sūtra* as referred to above was published in 1894 by J. Takakusu, who also published the English translation of Paramārtha's *Life of Vasubandhu* in 1904. The Tibetan version of Mātṛceṭa's *Catuḥ-Śataka-Stotra* was translated by F.W. Thomas in 1905.[3] The *Gaṇḍistotragāthā* was reconstructed on the basis of Chinese translation in 1913 by Stael-Holstein.[4] In 1917 H.P. Sastri published the contents of an incomplete MS. of Āryacandra's *Maitreya Vyākaraṇa* which was translated repeatedly into Chinese, languages of Central Asia and Tibetan. The MS. was discovered by Sastri himself.[5] The *Lokeśvara-śataka*, a work on Stotra literature was edited with a French translation by S. Karpales in 1919. Versions of the *Vijñāptimatratāsiddhi*, which gives a

[1]Different Chinese version of the same texts were edited in brief by Sasaki and Yamaguchi in 1930.

[2]*JBTS*, 1893, pp. 21ff.

[3]*Ind. Ant.*, XXIV, 1905, pp. 145ff.

[4]*Bib. Bud.*, cf. F.W. Thomas in *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 752ff.

[5]H.P. Sastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, I, 1917, pp. 19ff.

nice exposition of the Yogācāra system, were published with French translation by S. Levi (1925) and Vallee Poussin (1928) and subsequently by H. Ui.[1] The *Madhyāntavibhaṅga-śāstra* of Maitreya-Asaṅga with its commentaries, the *bhāṣya* of Vasubandhu and the *ṭīka* of Sthiramati, belong to the most fundamental works of Vijñānavāda. The MS. of its Sanskrit original had the fate of being discovered twice. The story of this double discovery and of the double text-edition which followed had been narrated by the discoverer Sylvain Levi in his preface to the 2nd edition of the text. In 1932, a version of the text with the sub-commentary of Sthiramati (*Madhyāntavibhāgasūtrabhāṣyaṭīkā*), edited by Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya and Giuseppe Tucci, was published (Calcutta Oriental Series, no. 24). The text along with its commentary by Sthiramati from Tibetan (*Madhyānta-Vibhāgaṭīka*), edited by Susumu Yamaguchi, came out in 1934. All these works were utilised by Th. Stcherbatsky in his English rendering of the *Madhyāntavibhaṅga* which came out in 1936 (Bib. Bud., XXX). This rendering contains, besides the *Kārikās* of Maitreya-Asaṅga, a translation of Vasubandhu's *bhāṣya* as well as the *ṭīkā* of Sthiramati. The latter was separately translated again by Friedman in 1937.[2]

A number of Mahāyānic texts from Tibetan were edited or translated by the Japanese scholars during the thirties.[3] In 1930, V.V.

[1]The *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhiviṃśatikā* based on Vasubandhu's interpretation was later edited with an English translation by S.S. Bagchi which came out in 1957.

[2]The Suzuki Research Foundation had published the *Madhyānta-vibhāgabhāṣya* in 1964 edited by G.M. Nagao. The text was prepared from a Tibetan-Sanskrit manuscript and had the rare advantage of being published from an original Sanskrit text discovered for the first time. Nagao had taken great pains over this edition and had separated the Kārikā text from the commentaries and had tried to settle the number of Kārikās in each chapter. The text contains a basic Kārikā attributed to Maitreyanātha and a commentary on it by Vasubandhu. A reprint of Stcherbatsky's translation was published from Calcutta in 1971.

[3]The texts based upon their Tibetan versions were *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha* (ed. by G. Sasaki), *Triṃsikāvijñaptibhāṣya* (ed. E. Teramoto), *Āryaśrīmāla-sūtra* (ed. K. Tsukinowa), *Sandhinirmocana-sūtra* (ed. K. Nishio), etc. G. Honda's *Studies in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, Tamaguchi's philological studies and Miyamoto's philosophical studies on the Mādhyamika school were important contributions to the study of Mahāyāna Buddhism. H. Ui introduced a new line of research by publishing the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, a comparative study

Gokhale published the *Pratītya-samutpāda* of Ullaṅgha, the Sanskrit original of which was translated by Dharmagupta. The *Bhadramāyā-vyākaraṇa* based upon the Chinese and Tibetan versions, was edited and translated into English by K. Regamoy (1938). The *Trisvabhāva-nirdeśa* of Vasubandhu was edited in 1939 by Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya. During the forties and fifties Aiyyaswami Sastri, P.B. Patel, and Santibhiksu Sastri had retranslated into Sanskrit the Tibetan and Chinese translation of a few lost Sanskrit text, mostly belonging to the Mahāyāna. Some original *Kārikās* of Nagarjuna's *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* with an incomplete commentary by an unknown author, were discovered by V.V. Gokhale (1950) and were edited and published in German in the *Kirfel Commemoration Volume* (1955). Since 1958, on behalf of the Buddhist Sanskrit Text Series, P.L. Vaidya supervised the Devanagari edition of a large number of Mahāyānic texts.

We have excluded the texts of the Prāmaṇa literature or logical treatises from the scope of this chapter, which will be dealt with in the next. These texts mostly belong to the Mahāyāna, although there are exceptions. Both the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools produced a succession of teachers who continued to make refinements in the doctrines which they passed on to the students. A major part of their work consisted of criticism of other views, since the latest opinions and arguments had always to be confronted with. But at the same time while they were actively engaged in barricading their front doors against the possible entry of the arguments of their opponents, which they considered to be entrenched in certain recognised forms of fallacious thinking, other ideas and practices having nothing to do with the hair-splitting logical analysis crept inside through the back-doors and they were allowed to co-exist with the same framework of thought. The tragedy was that when the extraneous elements were thus superimposed these were defended and given the status of objective truth. And that is why the study of Mahāyāna Buddhism even in its philosophical level had always been handicapped by confusing and contradictory elements inherent in each line of thought taken and reviewed independently leaving aside cultic and ritualistic intricacies. At the same time, as we have seen above, the technical terms

of the commentary on the *Triṃśikā* of Sthiramati and the *Vijñaptimātratāviṃsatikā*, a comparative study of Sanskrit texts and four Chinese translations.

of Mahāyāna offered serious problems in the understanding of their real and correct implications, and much of the works done so far in different aspects of Mahāyāna had given rise to endless debates and controversies, a sort of modern scholasticism in the place of ancient one, yielding no tangible result.

Chapter 5

Philosophical Studies

The doctrines of the Buddha are better known then the details of his life, but it is not easy to distinguish a primitive Buddhism and the doctrines grossly altered at a later date. The Buddhist conception of existence, found in the theory of twelve *nidānas* and that of the being resulting from the *skandhakas* or the aggregates were well understood by the earlier writers and also the doctrine of *Karman*, but on the point of Nirvāṇa it became too difficult on the part of the scholars to extract the original idea from the elaborate scholasticism of several centuries. The growth of different Buddhist sects and their doctrines, the rise of Mahāyāna with its increasing emphasis on the doctrine of the void, the elaborated growth of a very sophisticated logical literature and allied subjects have made the study of Buddhist philosophy extremely difficult and at the same time highly interesting and controversial. The concept of Nirvāṇa, one of the vital problems of Buddhism, which was previously handled by Childers, D'Alwais, Rhys Davids, Frankfurter *et al.*, was subsequently interpreted by Dhalman, Eklund, Vallee Poussin and Stcherbatsky.[1] Studies in the philosophical aspects of Buddhism got a fresh start with the publication of the works of Max Walleser, Sogen and Rosenberg. Mrs. Rhys Davids brought to light much of the Theravāda Abhidharmic conceptions. St. Schayer was one of the ablest interpreters of the doctrine of the void as developed by Nāgārjuna and his commentators. Stcherbatsky expounded the logical and epistemological theories while Vallee Poussin did invaluable work in making accessible the Abhidharma of the Indian schools and the intricacies of Vijñānavāda.

[1]For earlier studies on Nirvāṇa see Gogerly in *JRAS* (Ceylon branch) 1867-70, pp. 130ff.; Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, pp. 280-309; *Legends*, pp. 169-74; Bigandet, *Life*, pp. 143, 320-23. Burnouf, *Introduction*, pp. 516-22; Alwis, *Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, 1871; Vasilev, *Buddhismus*, p. 84; Köppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, I, pp. 306-09; Childers, Nibbāna in his *Dictionary;* O. Frankfurter in *JRAS*, *NS*, XII, pp. 548ff; Obry, *Du Nirvāṇa Bouddhique*, 1863; J. Dhalman, *Nirvāṇa*, 1886; J.A. Eklund, *Nirvāṇa en religionshistorisk undersökening* (with a résumé in German 1899), Vallee Poussin, *Nirvāṇa*, 1923; Stcherbatsky, *Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, 1927, etc. See especially in this connection Guy Welbon's *The Buddhist Nirvāṇa and its Western Interpretors*, 1968.

As early as in 1824, H.T. Colebrooke wrote an article under the title "on the philosophy of the Buddha."[1] Subsequently however in a few general works on Buddhism different aspects of Buddhist philosophy began to be treated with importance, but in these works the subjective attitude of the authors towards Buddhism was more reflected than the actual contents of the philosophical literature of Buddhism.[2] The real study of Buddhist philosophy began with that of the Abhidharma branch of Buddhist literature and the publication of numerous texts on Abhidharma.[3] The available Abhidharma texts

[1]Read in 1824 in the Royal Asiatic Society of London and published in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, II and subsequently incorporated in his *Miscellaneous Essays*.

[2]Such works were J. Bird's *Historical Researches on the Bauddha and Jaina Religion* (1847). Spence Hardy's *A Manual of Buddhism and Its Modern Development* (1853), Schoebel's *Le Buddha et la Bouddhisme* (1857), C.F. Köppen's *Die Religion des Buddha* (2 vols., 1857-59), Barthelemy Saint Hilaire's *Le Bauddha et sa Religion* (1860), T.D. Alwis's *Buddhism, Its Origin, History and Doctrines* (1862), H. Alabaster's *The Wheel of Law* (1872) etc.

[3]The list of the published Abhidharma texts and manuals is as follows: *Pudgalapaññatti* (ed. Morris, *PTS*, 1883, Eng. tr. B.C. Law, *PTS*, 1924), *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* (ed. Muller, *PTS*, 1885, tr. C.A.F. Rhys Davids under the title *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, *RAS*, 1923), *Kathāvatthu* (ed. Taylor 2 vols., *PTS*, 1894-97, tr. by S.Z. Aung and C.A.F. Rhys Davids under the title *Points of Controversy*, *PTS*, 1915), *Dhātukathā* (ed. Gooneratne *PTS*, 1892, tr. Nārada, *PTS*, 1962, *Vibhaṅga* (ed. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, *PTS*, 1904), *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* (ed. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, *JPTS*, 1884, tr. Rhys Davids and Aung under the title *Compendium of Philosophy*, *PTS*, 1910), *Yamaka* (ed. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, 2 vols., *PTS*, 1911-13); *Abhidhammāvatāra* and *Rūpārūpavibhāga* (ed. A.P. Buddhadatta, *PTS*, 1915, *Khemappakaraṇaṭīkā* (ed. Dharmmapala, Ceylon, 1908), *Nāmarūpasamāsa* (ed. Dhammārāma, *JPTS*, 1916), *Saccasaṅkhepa* (ed. Dhammārama, *JPTS*, 1917-19), *Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* (ed. in portions by Rhys Davids, Landsberg, Minayeff, 1910-23), *Nāmarūpapariccheda* (ed. Buddhadatta, *JPTS*, 1914), *Abhidharmakośa* (tr. by Vallee Poussin, 6 vols., Louvain, 1923-31), *Sphutārthavyākhyā* (ed. Wogihara, 1932-36), *Abhidhammatthavibhavanī* (ed. Paññāsāra, Colombo, 1933), *Abhidharmāmṛtasāstra* (ed. Śānti Bhikṣu, 1953), *Jñānaprasthāna* (ed. Śānti Bhikṣu, 1955), *Abhidharmadīpa* ed. Jaini, 1959), *Abhidhammattha-vikāsinī* (ed. Buddhadatta, 1961), *Mohavicchedanī* (ed. Buddhadatta and Warder, *PTS*, 1961), etc.

mostly belong to the Sthaviravāda. Other sects have also their Abhidharmas, but these are found mostly in Tibetan and Chinese translations. The most important treatise on Abhidharma is Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*. Although it belongs to the Sautrāntika school, it preserves much of the ancient traditions of Buddhist thought. The *Kośa* with its *bhāṣya* came to be regarded as one of the classic texts of Buddhism and was studied by the monks of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. It attained so much importance that schools were started in China under this name (Kośa school), and it is still being closely studied in China and Japan. This text, as we have noted above, was translated into French in six volumes along with Yaśomitra's commentary on it known as *Sphutārtha-Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* by Vallee Poussin (1923-31) who had also made use of the Tibetan version of Vasumitra's own commentary and the Chinese version of Paramārtha and Hiuen Tsang. Sanskrit edition along with the Tibetan version of Yaśomitra's *Sphutārthavyākhyā* was published by Wogihara between 1932 and 1936. About the same time Rahula Sankrityayana made an attempt to restore the *Abhidharmakośakārikā* with the help of Yaśomitra's commentary and of the notes in Vallee Poussin's translation of its commentary. Acharya Narendra Deva prepared a Hindi translation of Vallee Poussin's French translation of the *Abhidharmakośa*.

Although the *Kośa* belongs to the Sautrāntikas, it was also claimed by the Vaibhāṣikas (the Sarvāstivādins of Kashmir and Gandhāra) as containing condensed versions of all the *Vibhāṣās*, which they regarded more authoritative than the original Sūtras.[1] As against the Vaibhāṣikas, who held the existence of phenomenal objects on direct perception (*pratyakṣa*), the Sautrāntikas asserted that the external objects were appearances (*prajñapti*) and their existence could be

[1]The Vaibhāṣikas accepted the *Vibhāṣās* (commentaries) written on Kātyāyaniputra's *Jñānaprasthāna* (2nd century BC) which was the principal Abhidharma text of the Sarvāstivādins. The *Vibhāṣās* were compiled about the 2nd century AD and were said to have been put in literary Sanskrit by Aśvaghoṣa. These were translated into Chinese in AD 383-434. There were many distinguished teachers of the Vaibhāṣika school, viz., Dharmottara, Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣaka, Vasumitra, Buddhadeva and others. Tāranātha refers to Guṇaprabha as one of the greatest exponents of this school who was a student of Vasubandhu. The traditional founder of the Sautrāntika school was Kumāralabdha. Another great exponent of this school was Śrīlābha who was mentioned in Vasubandhu's *Kośa-bhāṣya*.

proved only by inference (*bāhyārthānumeyatva*).

Studies in the texts of Pramāṇa or logical treatises derived their main impulses from the Russian school. The Tibetan version of Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu* with Vinītadeva's commentary was published as early as between 1907 and 1913 in Bibliotheca Buddhica by Vallee Poussin. To Stcherbatsky goes the credit of editing *Nyāyāvindu* with Dharmottara's commentary (1918) and with the sub-commentary of Mallavadin (1909) as well as that of publishing its translation in Russian (1903) and in English (in his *Buddhist Logic*, II, 1930).[1] The *Santānantarasiddhi* of Dharmakīrti with Vinītadeva's commentary was also edited from Tibetan and translated with explanatory notes by Stcherbatsky in 1916.[2] The *Sambandhaparikṣā* of the same author, together with its commentary of Saṅkarānanda known as *Anusāra-ṭīka*, found in Tibetan, and the Tibetan version of Dharmottara's *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi* were edited and translated into German in 1934-35 by E. Frauwallner.[3] G. Tucci's *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources*, which came out in 1929[4] includes two logical treatises of the early schools retranslated from Chinese into Sanskrit known as *Fang pien sin louen* (*Upāyahṛdaya*) and *Jou che louen* (*Tarkaśāstra*). The Sanskrit text of Diṅnāga's

[1]Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu* was subsequently published (ed. Malavaniya) in 1955 in Tibetan-Sanskrit Works Series, Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. The Sanskrit original of Vinītadeva's *Nyāyavinduṭīkā* is lost. It survives in Tibetan translation which was published as early as in 1907 by the Asiatic Society of Bengal as edited by Vallee Poussin. Still it practically remained a sealed book to most of the modern scholars who had so far to depend mainly on Dharmottara's commentary on the *Nyāyabindu* made available to readers by Stcherbatsky. But that evidently was not enough for understanding Dharmakīrti's work, because all the commentators on him are not agreed on all points. The problem is to a great extent solved after the publication in 1971 Vinītadeva's *Nyāyavindu*, the Sanskrit original of which was reconstructed from the extant Tibetan version by Mrinal Kanti Gangopadhyaya who added to it an extremely readable English translation with highly useful annotations.

[2]*Bib. Bud.*, XIX, 1916; tr. in *Obosnovanie chuzhoi Odushevlennosti, Pamyaniki Indiskoi Filosofii*, I, St. Petersburg, 1922; summary in *Buddhist Logic*, I,pp. 521ff. For the works of Stcherbatsky see D.P. Chattopadhyaya's introduction to *Papers of Th. Stcherbatsky*, Calcutta, 1970.

[3]*Weiner Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (*WZKM*), XLI, 1934, pp. 261ff.; XLII, 1935, pp. 217ff.

[4]*GOS*, 1929. See also his Buddhist Logic before Diṅnāga in *JRAS*, 1929, pp. 451ff.

Hastavālaprakaraṇa was reconstructed from Tibetan and translated by F.W. Thomas and H. Ui in *JRAS*, 1918. The *Ālambanaparīkṣā* of Diṅnāga, was edited and translated after its Tibetan version in 1930 by Frauwallner.[1] The same text was also translated after its Tibetan and Chinese versions in 1929 by Yamāguchi[2] while a resumè of it was given by Stcherbatsky.[3] Some Sanskrit fragments of Diṅnāga's *Pramāṇa samuccaya* were collected and published by Randle in 1926.[4] While his *Nyāyamukha* was translated from its Tibetan version by Tucchi in 1930.[5] The Sanskrit text of his *Hetucakraḍamaru* was reconstructed from its Tibetan version by D. Chatterji in 1933.[6]

Part of the first chapter of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārtika* was translated from its Tibetan version by Frauwallner in 1930-33.[7] Śaṅkarasvāmin's *Nyāyapraveśa*, which is often wrongly attributed to Diṅnāga, was edited after its Tibetan and Sanskrit version by Dhruva in 2 Vols. (*GOS*, 1927-30). The Sanskrit version of Dharmakīrti's *Vādanyāya* was edited by Rahula Sankrityayana in 1935-36 together with Śāntarakṣita's commentary on it known as *Vipañcitārtha*.[8] Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha* along with Kamalaśīla's *pañjikā* or commentary on it was edited by E. Krishnamacharya (2 Vols., *GOS*, 1926) and translated by Ganganatha Jha (2 Vols., *GOS*, 1937-38). Dharmottara's *Apohaprakaraṇa* was edited and translated after its Tibetan version by Frauwallner in 1936.[9] Sanskrit edition of Jitāri's *Jātinirākaraṇa* was published by Tucci in 1930.[10] Manorathanandī's *Vṛtti* on the *Kārikās* of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārtika* was edited by R. Sankrityayana between 1938 and 1940.[11]

The publication of the Mahāyāna Sūtras and the works of different philosophical schools, mentioned in the preceding chapter and that of the logical texts mentioned above, together with the already dis-

[1] *WZKM*, XXXVII, 1930, pp. 174ff; re-edited by him in *Weiner Zeitschrift fur die Kunde Sud-und Ostasien* (*WZKSO*), 1959, pp. 157ff.
[2] *Journal Asiatique*, 1929.
[3] *Buddhist Logic*, I, pp. 518ff.
[4] Randle, *Fragments from Diṅnāga*, London, *RAS*, 1926.
[5] *Materialien Zur Kunde des Buddhismus*, 1930.
[6] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1933.
[7] *WZKM*, XXXVII, XL.
[8] Appendices to *JBORS*, XXI-XXII.
[9] *WZKM*, XLIV, 1936, pp. 233ff.
[10] *ABORI*, XI, 1930.
[11] Appendices to *JBORS*, XXIV-XXVI.

covered Pali canon, the major texts of which were published before 1930, had opened up new horizon in the field of the study of Buddhist philosophy from different points of view. Studies in this field got a new start with the publication of Max Walleser's *Die buddhistische Philosophie* (1904-14) and Y. Sogen's *Systems of Buddhist Thought* (1912). Aspects of different schools of Mahāyānic thought, especially the doctrine of void as developed by Nāgārjuna and his commentators, were treated in S. Schayer's *Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte der Mahāyānistischen* (1921). From the Hīnayāna viewpoint and depending almost solely on the solid ground of Pali canon B.M. Barua wrote his *Prolegomena to the History of Buddhist Philosophy* (1918) and *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy* (1921) in which work he had analysed the background of the rise of Buddhist philosophy and demonstrated the specialities of the views of the earlier philosophers of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads and those of the contemporaries of the Buddha. In 1923, three books containing general informations under the framework of a historical process were published which were McGovern's *Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, A.B. Keith's *Buddhist Philosophy of India and Ceylon* and P. Oltramare's *La theosophie bouddhique*. O. Rosenberg's *Die Probleme der buddhistische philosophie* (1924) formulated a special *dharma* theory, doctrine of the elements, as the basic ingredient of all forms of Buddhist system, and the views expressed in this work subsequently became the guideline of the Russian school. On different schools of Buddhist philosophy reference should be made to J. Masuda's *Der individualistische Idealismus der Yogācāra-Schule* (1926), E. Wolff's *Zur Lehre vom Bewusstsein den spatuen Buddhisten* (1930) and G. Tucci's *On some Aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreya and Asaṅga* (1930). The relation between the Sāṅkhya and Buddhism has been dealt with by J.W. Hauer in his *Das Laṅkāvatāra sūtra und das Sāṅkhya* (1927) who also wrote a treatise on the philosophical speculations as found in the Dhāraṇis (1927). It should be noted in this connection that Burnouf found similarities between the doctrines of Buddhist *nidānas* and those of the *tattvas* of the Sāṅkhya. This view was supported or substantiated by Weber, Jacobi, Oldenberg, Gerbe, Dhalmann and Pischel and was opposed by Max Muller, Keith, Vallee Poussin and Horsch. Likewise the influence of Yoga on Buddhism was stressed by Kern, Vallee Poussin and Bechk. It should also be noted that attempts were made since the beginning of the Buddhist studies

to establish identity or difference between the principles of Christianity and those of Buddhism.[1]

Our knowledge of Buddhist logic is inextricably connected with the works of Stcherbatsky. His first article on the subject, *Logic in Ancient India*, appeared in 1902 and it was soon followed by the two volumes of *The Theory of knowledge and Logic according to the Later Buddhists* (1903-1909). During these years, as we have seen above, excepting for Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu* and Dharmottara's commentary on it, no original work on Buddhist logic was known to the academic world.[2] Stcherbatsky therefore had to depend mainly on the Tibetan sources for the reconstruction of the Sanskrit originals, and in this way on the basis of the writings of Diṅnāga, Dharmakīrti and a host of their commentators, the reconstruction finally culminated in his two volumes of *Buddhist Logic* (1931-32). This work was the exposition of the entire tradition of epistemology and logic associated with the names of the later Buddhist authorities. What is most remarkable about Stcherbatsky was that long before Rahula's discovery of the *Pramāṇa-vārtika*, practically the entire tradition of Buddhist logic was reconstructed by him. Stcherbatsky did not, however, discover any original text of Diṅnāga or Dharmakīrti. As for Diṅnāga, scholars had practically given up hope of finding the Sanskrit original of his *Pramāṇasamuccaya* beyond some fragments of it.[3] Efforts were, however, made to reconstruct some other logical treatises of Diṅnāga.[4] The original Sanskrit of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārtika*, as we have noted above, was discovered by Rahula Sankrityayana during his expeditions in Tibet (1934-36).

While Stcherbatsky was working on Buddhist logic, Satis Chandra

[1]Interesting, though highly speculative, works in this field were made by Rudolf Seydel (1882, 1897), G.A. Van den Bergh van Egsinga (1904, 1909), A.J. Edmunds (1908-09), R. Garbe (*Indien und das Christentam*, Tubingen, 1914), H. Hoas (1922), etc.

[2]We have already had the occasion to refer to the editions and publications of Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu* along with its commentaries. It is to be noted that a copy of this text was discovered by Bhagavandas Kevaldas and it was first edited and published by P. Paterson in 1899 as an appendix to Dharmottara's commentary of the text itself.

[3]cf. H.N. Randle, *Fragments of Diṅnāga*, London, 1926.

[4]cf. G. Tucci, *Nyāyamukha, the Oldest Buddhist Text on Logic after Chinese and Tibetan Materials*, 1930; *Nyāyapraveśa*, Pt. I, ed. A.B. Dhruva, Pt. II-V, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, *GOS*, XXXVIII-XXXIX, 1927-30.

Vidyabhusana worked on the same subject as another pioneer. Vidyabhusana, trained in Tibetan by no less a Tibetologist than Sarat Chandra Das himself, took up the work in right earnest and, showing no awareness of Stcherbatsky's works (perhaps because the earlier of these were in Russian, started reconstructing Buddhist logic from the Tibetan sources. His first monograph on this subject, *History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic* appeared in 1909 and this was followed by his greater work *A History of Indian Logic* in 1921, nine years earlier than Stcherbatsky's *magnum opus*. No wonder, Stcherbatsky freely used Vidyabhusana's work, but while the latter's approach was that of confirmed historian, the former wanted to rationalise Buddhist logic in modern terminology and to offer a vigorous philosophical defence of it.[1] Of other Indian writers S.N. Dasgupta in his *History of Indian Philosophy* (1922 ff) made a nice exposition of the Buddhist systems on the basis of original sources. While working on the first volume of his *History* Dasgupta depended exclusively on the materials supplied to him by Stcherbatsky for the discussion of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*. Dasgupta's line of textual documentation was followed with a greater amount of interpretative elements by J.N. Sinha who also had written comprehensive history of the Indian philosophical systems. S. Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy* contained a number of chapters on Buddhist philosophy, and his credit was mainly for presenting a consistent interpretation of Buddhist philosophical systems from a purely idealistic point of view in conformity with other existing religious systems of India.

Some scholars wanted to visualise Buddhism in the context of the problems of the modern world, and there were also some who wanted to understand the concepts of Buddhism in terms of modern philosophical language. Even so great a scholar like Stcherbatsky, who

[1]Vidyabhusana wrote a considerable number of articles on Buddhist Logic before the publication of his monographs. Thus in the *JASB*—Diṅnāga and his Pramāṇasamuccaya (1905), Indian Logic as preserved in Tibet (1907), The Nyāyabindu (1907), Hetucakradamaru of Diṅnāga (1907); in the *JBTS*—The philosopher Diṅnāga (1896), Influence of Buddhism on the development of Nyāya Philosophy (1898), The Buddhist version of the Nyāya Philosophy (1900); in the *Journal of the Mahabodhi Society*—Life of Diṅnāga (1898), Influence of Buddhism on the Development of Hindu Nyāya Philosophy (1902), etc.

had a personal bias for the philosophy of Kant, tried to understand some philosophical concepts in the light of the latter's terminologies like 'thing-in-itself,' 'the schematism of categories,'' 'the synthesis of apperception,' and so on. In the writings of medieval Buddhist Philosophers he had discovered Bergson's 'duration,' Russell's 'sense data' and a host of ideas of European philosophy. Among such works of this category mention should be made of P. Dahlke's *Buddhist Essays* (1908), *Buddhism and Science* (1927) and *Buddhism and Its place in the Mental Life of Mankind* (1927), E. Holmes' *The Creed of Buddha* (1908) and G. Grimm's *Die Wissenschaft des Buddhismus* (1923), etc. D. Goddard's *Buddha's Golden Path* (1929) was a manual of practical Buddhism based on the teachings and practices of the Zen sect of Japan but interpreted and adopted to meet the modern conditions. In 1942 the Sanskrit edition of Mokṣākaragupta's *Tarkabhāṣā*, edited by E. Krishnamacharya came out from Baroda (*GOS*). Sanskrit edition of Karṇakagomin's *Ṭīkā* on Dharmakīrti's *Vṛtti* to the first chapter of the *Pramāṇavārtika* was published by Rahul from Allahabad, while that of the *Vādasthāna* was published by H.R.R. Aiyangar in 1944 from Mysore. In 1947, Diṅnāga's *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha-saṃgraha* was edited and translated by Tucci in the *JRAS*. Vidyākara's *Tarkarsopāna* was also published by him in 1956. In 1949 the Tibetan version of Dharmakīrti's *Hetuvindu* with Sanskrit reconstructed from Arcaṭa's *Ṭīkā*, was edited by Sankrityayana, Sanghavi and Jinavijaya (*GOS*), together with the *Aloka* commentary on Arcaṭa's *Ṭīka*. Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārtika* and its *Vṛtti* was edited by Rahul in 1953, by Malavaniya in 1959 and by Gnoli in 1960 (*SOR*). From Jayaswal Institute A. Thakur published *Ratnakīrtinibandhāvalī* (1957) and *Jñānaśrīmitranibandhāvalī* (1959) as the collected writings of the said authors. In 1959, Frauwallner published Tibetan and Sanskrit editions of a number of fragmentary works of Diṅnāga.[1]

J. Takakusu's *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy* was published posthumously in 1947. It was a collection of lectures delivered at the Hawaii University. This work, as the name implies, was intended for the non-specialist but enriched with the outlook and interpretation of a devoted scholar who was actively engaged in Buddhist

[1]Sanskrit ed. of *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārthasaṃgraha* in *WZKSO*, III, 1959, pp. 140ff.; *Yogāvatāra*, ibid, pp. 120ff.; 144ff.; *Traikālyaparīkṣā*, ibid, 145ff.; *Hastavālaprakaraṇa*, 152ff.; *Upādāyaprajñaptiprakaraṇa*, 121ff.; *Ālambanaparīkṣā*, 157ff.

research since 1894. A 2nd edition of this work came out in 1956. In this work the learned author had clearly pointed out the complication arising from the fact that the European scholars in many cases had been dependent upon the refutation of the Buddhist systems in non-Buddhist works. Despite the Buddha's warning against mere philosophical curiosity much of the speculations belonged rather to the development of logic and epistemology than to that of religion. This point is significant as we shall see while dealing with other works on Buddhist philosophy. The Brāhmaṇa Philosophers after their conversion to Buddhism naturally wished to investigate the philosophic implications of their adopted faith and to defend it from their own viewpoints. One of the most useful contribution made through this work to the study of Buddhist philosophy was to determine the literary traditions of each school of thought and to present them in a historical order.

C.L. A de Silva's *Four Essential Doctrines of Buddhism* came out in 1948. Themselves being Buddhists most of the modern Ceylonese writers have a tendency to interpret Buddhism in terms of modern world problems, the mental and intellectual crisis of the present century. In this work the principles and essential concepts of Buddhism are interpreted as means of mental enlightenment. Thus *Dharma* as a means to that end is applicable even to a modern man who requires not only *Śīla* and *Samādhi*, i.e., morality and meditation, but also *Prajñā* or wisdom. Emphasis is laid upon the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta*, the sermon which the Buddha was supposed to have delivered to his first five disciples. The title of this Sutta includes the important Buddhist term *Dharma*, meaning doctrine, norm, law or righteousness,[1] and the culture of this *Dharma* is connoted by the term *Bhavanā* or mental action which forms the second state to the path of Nirvāṇa, contributing to the purification, refinement and elevation of consciousness. In fact Theravāda, Buddhism contains in itself the basic idea of the transformation of an individual into a better one, and this point is stressed, not going beyond the range of Pali Buddhist texts, by most of the Ceylonese writers like Vajra-ñāna-Mahāthera, Walapola Rāhula, H. Siddhatissa and others.[2]

[1]cf. I.B. Horner in *Artibus Asiae*, II, 1948, p. 115.

[2]Dr. Vajira-ñāna Mahāthera wrote a book entitled *Buddhism Outlined* (1951) in which the essential doctrines of Buddhism are nicely described. But, as we shall see later, most of the works of modern Ceylonese writers were

E. Conze's *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development* (1951, 2nd ed., 1959) is more or less a historical study showing the progress of Buddhist ideas from the beginning to their later ramifications with major trends sufficiently explained. He has a strong Mahāyānic bias, but his interpretation of the Mādhyamika system is basically different from those of others. According to him, Nāgārjuna's doctrine is not metaphysical at all, but it describes a practical attitude of non-assertion. In his subsequent works in connection with his researches on the Prajñāpāramitā literature and other aspects of Mahāyānism he tried to show that Buddhism from its very beginning upheld a doctrine of mystic experience to be attained by its followers through the symbolism of rituals and this approach became popular among some later writers in this field. The Mādhyamika system has, however, excellently been handled in T.R.V. Murti's *Central Philosophy of Buddhism* (1955, 2nd ed., 1960) which is a study based on an exposition of Candrakīrti's viewpoint. How far the Mādhyamika doctrine may claim to become the central philosophy of Buddhism, whether the strikingly negative character of the Mādhyamika doctrine, supposed to annihilate every concept of conventional knowledge, including the rejection of the theory of dependent origination, is a denial of Buddhism itself, or whether this negation in itself is essentially positive in implying a reality quite impossible to understand on any intellectual terms is in agreement with the original teachings of the Buddha, all these questions have been taken into account from a purely philosophical point of view and dealt with in a masterly way. But the learned writer has ignored the social and historical basis of the origin of ideas and also did not care to lay proper emphasis on the question of the growth of the four systems of Buddhist philosophy in terms of what we call the growth of idealism in Indian philosophical speculations, although he has given a clue to

written from the point of view of their existing religious convictions and with a latent purpose of propagation, and hence their works lacked critical approach, although not in all cases. At the same time it must also be remembered that the earlier Anglo-German attempts of reconstructing a 'pure' Buddhism were carried out with greater vigour by Ceylonese scholars, but while the former conceived of the pure and ethical Buddhism as essentially a thing of the past, the Ceylonese group kept a vigilant eye on the present emphasising that the Buddhist ethical way of life might also be the liberating principle of the problem-ridden world of today.

the understanding of the generic connection between Nāgārjuna's teachings and the Māyā doctrine of Advaita Vedānta. An enumeration of the contents of this significant work is necessary. In the first part, the origin and development of Mādhyamika philosophy has been discussed. It contains four chapters under the titles 'two traditions of Indian Philosophy,' 'the silence of the Buddha and the beginning of dialectics,' 'development of the two traditions and the emergence of the Mādhyamika system' and 'the influence of Mādhyamika dialectics.' The second part deals with the dialectic as system of philosophy with chapters on the structure of the Mādhyamika dialectic, conception of philosophy as Prajñāpāramitā, absolute and phenomena, dialectic and freedom, and absolute and Tathāgata. The third part deals with the Mādhyamika and the allied systems with chapters on the Mādhyamika and some Western dialectic systems, Mādhyamika, Vijñānavāda and Vedānta, and an estimate of the Mādhyamika system as a whole.

We have already had the occasion to refer to the studies on the Abhidharma. In 1938, the Rev. Nānatiloka, a German Buddhist monk, gave us a useful book under the title *Guide through the Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. Subsequently however, the Abhidharmas of different schools were handled from various viewpoints, and a variety of new interpretations were added.[1] If the *dharma* is a term common to Indian thought, *abhidharma* seems to be a term exclusively used by the Buddhists. (Stcherbatsky, however, takes *dharma* in a purely metaphysical sense which developed out of one fundamental principle, viz., the idea that existence is an interplay of a plurality of subtle ultimate, not further analysable elements of matter, mind and forces. These elements are technically called *dharma* a meaning which this word has in Buddhism alone). As has been stated previously, the Abhidharma is contained in the seven books of the Pali Piṭaka. There were other seven books on the Abhidharma belonging, to the Sarvāstivadins—a school that split off early from the original stem of Buddhism. These are preserved in the Chinese translation. The subject-matter of Abhidharma as could be obtained from the Pali sources was successfully handled by Mrs. Rhys Davids who gave its consistent inter-

[1]Of such works giving new interpretations to Abhidharma contents reference may be made to H.V. Guenther's *Philosophy and Psychology of Abhidharma*, 1957.

pretation and also by Mrs. M. Geiger and Prof. W. Geiger who considered the matter from the philosophical viewpoint, i.e., to give with regard to the conceptions, a succinct accounct of the system. Further works on this subject were continued by Stcherbatsky, Levi, Wogihara, Vallee Poussin and Rosenberg.

Several other important publications of Buddhist philosophy during the fifties deserve special mention. Rahul Sankrityayana's *Bauddhadarśana* in Hindi was a small but classic contribution in the sense that it wanted to explain the growth of various Buddhist ideas from a materialistic conception of historical process. It is remarkable in the sense that it came from the pen of a scholar who was well versed in the traditional mode of learning.[1] A better attempt of visualising the genesis of Indian philosophical ideas from a purely Marxian point of view was revealed in Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya's *Lokāyata* (1959), in which the author had tried to explain the objective conditions leading to popular cults, beliefs and rituals, and the processes through which some of these made way into the systems of the more advanced strata of Indian population. Quite a good number of facts collected by Chattopadhyaya from different sources undoubtedly contributed much to the understanding of some obscure and inaccessible elements of Mahāyāna and Tantric Buddhism. Next we should refer to a Bengali work entitled *Vaibhāṣika Darśana* (1955) by Ananta Kumar Bhattacharyya, a traditional scholar with a profound knowledge of every inch of that system. This is the best book on the Vaibhāṣika system, dealing most exhaustively with all the technical intricacies. The most striking feature of this work is that the approach of the author is comparative, and as such it is a source of valuable understanding of the Vaibhāṣika tradition along with its rival and complementary systems.

In the field of Vijñānavāda, A.K. Chatterjee's *Yogācāra Idealism* (1962) interprets the main features of the Yogācāra or Vijñānavāda in terms of the acknowledged philosophical concepts of modern times. Beginning with a historical introduction with special emphasis on the development of the said system, the author goes on to describe how the followers of Yogācāra refute the objections to idealism put

[1]In Hindi there are some more books on Buddhist philosophy like Baladeva Upadhyaya's *Bauddha-Darśana-Mīmāṃsā* (1954); Chandradhar Sharma's *Saugata Siddhāntasāra Saṃgraha*, etc.

forward by the realists. Of other important features of this book reference should be made to the author's elucidation of the three *vijñānas*, the *dharma* of the Yogācāra, the Yogācāra concept of the absolute, the Yogācāra discipline, the concept of Tathāgata, the Yogācāra and some other forms of absolutism and the Yogācāra contrasted with other forms of idealism. The only gap in this work is that the learned author has not raised any question regarding the philosophical validity of the Yogācāra and that he has absolutely ignored the social basis of idealism. In his subsequent work entitled *Readings on Yogācāra Buddhism* (1971) he has taken the subject in a wider perspective. Yogācāra philosophy has also been the subject of research for C.L. Tripathi (1974).

Works on comparative philosophical analysis are also very significant.[1] Sukhlalji Sanghvi's *Advanced Studies in Indian Logic and Metaphysics* (1966), which is written from a Jain viewpoint, deals with the Buddhist theories of knowledge along with other forms of Indian thought. In J.N. Shah's *Akalaṅka's Criticism of Dharmakīrti's Philosophy* (1966) we also come across how a traditional Jain scholar viewed his rival creed from a purely philosophical consideration with a view to extablishing his own doctrinal standpoints. The first part of R.S.Y. Chi's *Buddhist Formal Logic: A Study of Diṅnāga's Hetucakra and K'uai-Chi's Great Commentary* on the *Nyāyapraveśa* was published in 1969. This work served a very important purpose in the field of the study of Buddhist logic—a difficult field indeed, which remained practically untouched since the days of Vidyabhusana and Stcherbatsky. H.K. Ganguli's *Philosophy of Logical Construction* (1963) is a critical examination of logical atomism and logical positivism in the light of the philosophies of Bhartṛihari, Dharmakīrti and Prajñākaragupta. Some important articles on logical subjects have been published in recent years.[2] On the recent

[1]L.M. Joshi, *Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism* (1970); K.N. Upadhyaya, *Early Buddhism and Bhagavadgītā* (1970); J.N. Shah, *Akalaṅka's Criticism of Dharmakīrti's Philosophy* (1966); J.L. Mehta, *Vedānta and Buddhism* (1968), etc.

[2]e.g. M. Hattori's 'Diṅnāga's Criticism of the Mimamsa Theory of Perception' in *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, IX, 1961; Y. Kajiyama's 'On the Theory of Intrinsic Determination of Universal Concomitance in Buddhist Logic' in ibid, VII, 1958; S. Mookherjee's 'Absolutist's Standpoint in Logic' (Nava Nalanda Mahāvihāra Research Publication, I, 1957); M. Scaligero's

fundamental works on different aspects of Buddhist Philosophy reference should be made to K.N. Jayatilika's *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge* (1963) H. Nakamura's *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples* (revised ed., 1964), J. Prasad's *History of Indian Epistemology* (1959), F. Edgarton's *Beginnings of Indian Philosophy* (1965), A.K. Sarkar's *Changing Phases of Buddhist Thought* (1968), Karl H. Potter's ed. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Philosophy* (1970, only Vol. I Bibliography and Vol. II, Introduction to the Philosophy of Nyaya Vaiśeṣika have hitherto been published), etc. G.C.C. Chang's *Buddhist Teachings of Totality* (1972) is a brilliant exposition of the Hwa Yen Buddhism, but it is also important for the study of Indian Buddhist philosophy. To this list should also be added R. Basu's *A Critical Study of the Milindapañha* (a critique of Buddhist philosophy 1978) and B. Bhattachārya's *Aśvaghoṣa* (1976) which is a critical study of his authentic Kāvyas and the apocryphal works, with special reference to his contributions to classical Sanskrit literature and his doctrinal standpoint as a Buddhist.

We shall conclude this chapter with some works on Buddhist Ethics. This subject has been dealt elaborately in all the earlier works on Buddhism. Most of the early writers on Buddhism thought it essentially as an ethical system, while some of the modern writers as we have remarked above find nothing but inexplicable mysticism in Buddhism. Among the recent works on Buddhist ethics. H. Siddhatissa's *The Buddhist Way* (1971) endeavours to present the teachings of the Buddha by making them free from the accretions which tend to obscure the real meaning and significance. Here attempt has been made to show that Buddhism does not fit any of the standard definitions such as 'religion,' 'philosophy,' 'system of ethics' and the like. It can be better called a synthesis of all plus something peculiar to itself. In a former work, *Buddhist Ethics* (1970) Siddhatissa said that Buddhism although referred to as a religion is basically a way of life, since the Buddha spoke of the two extremities to be avoided in order to have knowledge of the way to enlightenment and it would therefore be more accurate to describe Buddhism as an 'ethico-philosophy' which can be practised only. Here the author has examined the background of Buddhism and its unique doctrines, and then

'Doctrine of void and the Logic of Essence' in *East and West*, IX, 1960; G.S.P. Misra's 'Logical and Scientific Methods in Early Buddhist Texts' in *JRAS*, 1968, etc.

comes to the origin and source of Buddhist knowledge of the highest stage dealing with the life and enlightenment of the Buddha, the laws of dependent origination, the Buddhist ideas relating to the self or the soul, the three characteristics of existence, etc., with special references to the great compassion of the Buddha which, according to the author, is inseparable from the highest stage of Buddhist knowledge. The author has described the underlying ideals of morality, especially for those who were laymen and given comprehensive account of the position of laity in early Buddhism, the layman's duty to his associates and finally his relation to the state. The author's purpose is to preach Buddhism and to help his western readers to follow the Buddhist way of life, and the book has served its purpose. But the purpose of history has not been served by this book. The moral values which early Buddhism upheld may have some significance in the modern world but they were mainly intended for ancient Indian society, the society in which the Buddha lived, the society which the Buddha wanted to change. R. Hindery's *Comparative Ethics in Hindu and Buddhist Traditions* (1978) is a recent significant work in this branch of study. It is a thought-provoking work exploring the moral traditions of two distinct ways of life. Drawing on the primary sources the author has offered an informative antidote to oppose conventional assumptions and spiritualized interpretations which usually characterise such studies.

Chapter 6

Studies on Tantric Buddhism

No discussion on the studies on Mahāyāna Buddhism can be complete unless we take into account the history of researches on Tantric Buddhism. Tantrism as an ancient way of life made its way into all forms of Indian religious systems. Even in early Buddhism Tantric elements had a vital role. It was due to the fact that among the earlier converts of Buddhism there were followers of Tantrism, and despite their conversion into the Buddhist fold they did not give up their traditional ideas and practices. Within the monasteries they formed secret societies (*guhya-samāja*) of their own, composed texts dealing with their ideas and practices and got them sanctioned as Buddha-Vacanas or sayings of the Buddha. Their influence, under different historical conditions, was always on the increase, and in Mahāyāna Buddhism their views began to get upper hand. Among the Mahāyānists subsequently developed the schools of the Pāramitās and the Mantras and the latter subsequently culminated in three specialised forms—Vajrayāna, Kālacakrayāna and Sahajayāna.

Studies in the Tantric aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism evidently derived their impulses from the studies of the Tibetan sources of Buddhism. In Tibet the collection of translations from the Indian texts numbers more than 4,556. These are divided into two groups, viz., Bkah-hgyur, popularly called the Kanjur, consisting of 1,108 texts, and Bstan-hgyur, popularly called the Tanjur, consisting of 3,458 texts. The Kanjur is divided into seven parts Vinaya, Prajñā-pāramitā, Buddhāvataṃsaka, Ratnakūṭa, Sūtra, Nirvāṇa and Tantra —while the Tanjur into two Tantra and Sūtra. Tibetan studies were initiated in 1834 by Alexander Csoma de Koros, the Hungarian scholar who made a daring journey from his native Transylvania to India (1818-23) and having learnt Tibetan from the monks of Ladakh became the pioneer of Tibetology.[1] Anton Schiefner published in

[1]His *Notices on the Life of Shakya*, mentioned above in the second chapter (1836) was based upon his 'Analysis of the Kanjur' originally appearing in the

1849 an abridged translation of a work written in Tibetan in 1734 by a Buddhist monk named Ratna-dharmarāja.[1] Between 1847 and 1860, Ph.E. Foucaux published the French translation of the Tibetan version of the *Lalitavistara*.[2] In 1855, V.P. Vasilev wrote a note on some books relating to the history of Buddhism in the Library of the Kazan University[3] which gives an illuminating account of some Tibetan historical works and became the basis of his future researches.

Proper studies in different aspects of Tibetan Buddhism began with C.F. Koppen's *Die lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche* (Berlin, 1859). Vasilev's *Buddhism* (1859) contains extracts from the Avataṃsakas, Ratnakūṭas of the Dhāraṇis of the Tibetan canon. In 1863 was published E. Schlagintwait's *Buddhism in Tibet* which contained much information on Tantric Buddhism. His 'Buddhistic Idols in Tibet'[4] was a positive contribution to northern Buddhist iconography. The works of Rockhill, Waddell and others contributed to a great extent to the study of Tantric Buddhism which was also facilitated by the efforts of the great Indian explorer Sarat Chandra

Asiatic Researches, XX, pp. 285-96 and was subsequently translated into French by Leon Feer (1881). His 'Enumeration of the Historical and Grammatical Works to be met with in Tibet' was published in 1838 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VII, pp. 147-52 while his *Grammar of the Tibetan Language* (reproduced in parts in I.J. Schmidt's German and Russian versions of *Tibetan Grammar* 1839) came out in 1834 from Calcutta. The *Prajñā-paramitā* literature was also introduced by him (*Asiatic Researches*, XX, 1836, pp. 393ff.). Table LIV of Csoma's Grammar contains a Buddhist chronology of Tibet, a brief reproduction of which is found in Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, Pt. II, Calcutta, 1836, pp. 123ff.

[1]The title of Schiefner's work was *Eine Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Cakyamuni's* which was read on 31st May 1848 in the Academy at St. Petersburg and published once again in the *Memoires presentes par divers Savants a l'Academie Imperiale de St. Petersbourg*, VI, 1851, pp. 231-32.

[2]*Rgya-Tcher-Rol-Pa, au Development des Jeux: Histoire du Bouddha Śākya-Mouni*. It was reprinted in two volumes in 1884 and 1892.

[3] 'O nekotorykh knigakh, otnosyashchikhsya K istorii buddizama, U biblioteke, Kazanskogo Universittea published in the *Uchenye Zapiski Academii nauk po pervomu i tret' emu otdeleniyam* (scientific Transactions of the First and Third Sections of Academy of Sciences), II, St. Petersburg, 1855, pp. 1-33.

[4]*JRAS*, 1863, pp. 437ff. Of other stray but important earlier works on Tibetan Buddhism see Mayers in *JRAS*, IV, pp. 284ff. and in *Ind. Ant.*, XXVIII, pp. 73ff.

Das who returned from his travels into the interior of Tibet in 1882, where he had collected a great deal of material from the ancient libraries of the Sakya and Sam-ye monasteries of Lasha.

The Dhāraṇis which constituted a large and important part of Mahāyāna literature presupposed Tantric Buddhism. These were magic formulas used as protective spells. There was not always a clear line of demarcation between Dhāraṇis and Sūtras. Again the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras in their shorter forms were used as Dhāraṇis. Many Prajñāpāramitā texts appeared amongst the Dhāraṇis in the Tibetan Kanjur. There were numerous Dhāraṇis which have come down singly in MS. and also large collection of Dhāraṇis.[1] In the Tibetan Kanjur the Dhāraṇis are to be found both among the Sūtras (Mdo) and the Tantras (Rgyud). Numerous fragments of Dhāraṇis had been found in various languages of Central Asia, and they also occurred in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. The Dhāraṇis consisted of numerous invocations to female deities, to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, exorcisms, mystic syllables etc. and came to be regarded as an integral part of the Mantrayāna. The latter was the vehicle in which the Mantras, words and syllables of mysterious power, etc. were regarded as the chief means of attaining salvation. There was no hard and fast demarcation between Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna. The latter is more a concrete form in which the Ādi Buddha, also known as Vajradhara and equated with the concept of Śūnyatā, was worshipped together with his Śakti, as the progenitor of five Dhyānī Buddhas (representing five *skandhas* or aggregates of existence), their corresponding Bodhisattvas and their consorts and secondary gods and goddesses. The purpose of this worship was to attain the highest bliss, the absolute non-duality of Śūnyata and Karuṇā or Prajñā and Upāya, symbolised by the aspirant and his Śakti (female partner)—which the aspirant should have within his own self in the same way in which the eternal Buddha was in embrace with his Śakti.

The Mantrayāna-Vajrayāna literature is known under the general term Buddhist Tantras. Like the Śākta Tantras the Buddhist Tantras are divided into four classes—Kriyā-tantras which treat of ceremonies of the building of temples, erection of images, etc; Caryā-tantras which teach the practical cult, Yoga-tantras which deal with

[1]Many of these are recorded in R.L. Mitra's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature* and Bendall's *Catalogue*.

the practice of Yoga; and Anuttarayoga-tantras which deal with higher mysticism. The *Pañcakrama* which is an extract of the *Guhyasamāja* was edited by Vallee Poussin in 1896 who also edited the *Ādikarmapradīpa* in 1898 with introduction and analysis of contents.[1] The *Pañcakrama* is an Anuttarayoga-tantra and deals more with yoga than with the actual Tantric usages. It is a presentation of the 'five stages' to be attained by magic circles, magic formulas, mysterious syllables and the worshipping of Mahāyānist and Tantric deities. The text belongs to the commentarial literature of the Mantrayāna. The *Ādikarmapradīpa* describes the ceremonies and religious acts which the Ādikarmika Bodhisattva has to perform. The work consists of a Sūtra text with a running commentary, and contains precepts on the initiation ceremonies, on the rules and rituals, on the readings of the Prajñā-pāramitā, on meditations and so on. To this class belongs the *Kriya-saṃgrahapañjikā* of Kuladatta in which detailed prescriptions are given for the erection of vihāras and images and for other rituals.[2]

Sādhanā No. 159 of the *Sadhanamālā*, dedicated to the worship of the Prajñāpāramitā, is attributed to Asaṅga. Whether Asaṅga himself had written Tantric works may be doubtful, but on the basis of the statements of Lāmā Tāranātha the idea cannot be ruled out. According to B.T. Bhattacharyya there seems to be a historical connection between the Yogācāra school and the rise of the Vajrayāna. S. Levi thought he could detect allusions to Tantric rites in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*. The *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* attributed to Maitreya is a text of the Prajñāpāramitā doctrine and it contains numerous elements of Tantrism. The Tibetan and Sanskrit versions of this text were edited by Stcherbatsky and Obermiller in 1929.[3] The most helpful for the understanding of this text are Obermiller's *Doctrine of Prajñāpāramitā as Exposed in the Abhisamāyalaṅkāra* (1932-33) and his incomplete *Analysis of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (1933-43).[4] Of its numerous commentaries, those of Vimuktasena, Buddhaśrījñāna, Dharmamitra, Ratnākaraśānti Prajñākaramati and Jagaddalanivās

[1]Bouddhisme, Etudes etMa teriaux (Mem. Acad. Belg.), 1898, pp. 177-232.

[2]R.L. Mitra, op. cit., pp. 105ff. H.P. Sastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in ASB*, I, pp. 119ff.

[3]Eng. tr. by E. Conze, *SOR*, 1954.

[4]The former was published in *Acta Orientalia* (1932-33) and the latter in three parts in Calcutta Oriental Series (1933-43).

in are preserved in Tibetan. The Sanskrit edition of Haribhadra's commentary known as *Abhisamayālaṅkāraloka* was published by Tucci in 1932 and by Wogihara in 1932-35.

A good number of Tantric Buddhist texts are in Tibetan and a few of them are also in Sanskrit. Of the Tibetan texts having Sanskrit versions we have *Ratnaketudhāraṇī Bhaiṣajyaguru, Ekādaśamukha, Hayagrīvavidyā, Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānavyūha, Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Ekavīra, Mahāmāyūrī, Mahāpratisarā, Amoghapāśa, Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha, Guhyasamāja, Advayasamatā, Vajrabhairava, Raktayamāri, Hevajra, Abhidhānottara, Caturyoginīsampūṭa, Mahāmāyā, Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa, Vajrāmṛta, Mahākāla, Kālacakra, Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti, Sādhanamālā, Padminī, Yogaratnamālā, Pañcakrama, Pradīpoddyotana, Vimalaprabhā, Sekoddeśaṭīkā, Nispanna yogāvalī, Advayavajrasaṃgraha, Jñānasiddhi, Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi,* etc. The texts extant only in Tibetan, besides those mentioned above, are *Guhyagarbha, Dhyānottarapaṭala, Susiddhikara, Krodhavijaya, Mahāvairocana, Vajraśikhara, Māyājāla, Kṛṣṇayamāri, Cakrasaṃvara, Mahāmudrātilaka, Vajraḍāka, Dākārṇava, Buddhakapāla, Ārāli, Yoginīsaṃcaryā, Catuḥpīṭha,* etc. Only a few of these texts have been edited or translated.

We shall begin with the *Sādhanamālā.* It is a collection of very short texts devoted to the meditation on different deities so that the mind of the aspirant becomes entirely identified with his chosen object of meditation. That is why the deities are accurately described in every detail. These descriptions were utilised by the sculptors and painters in the construction of the images of the gods. As early as in 1903. F.W. Thomas had brought to light a good number of Sanskrit and Tibetan *Sādhanās,*[1] a few of which were utilised by A. Foucher in 1905 in his *Etude sur L'iconographie Bouddhique.* The complete text was edited by B.T. Bhattacharyya which was published from Baroda in two volumes in 1925 and 1928 respectively.[2] In 1916 H.P. Sastri published a Bengali work under the title *Bauddha Gān O Dohā* which was a collection of the mystic ritual songs of the Tantric Buddhists. These were known as *Caryā* songs written in a language which may be regarded as the oldest form of Bengali and other eastern languages. These songs were collected by Sastri from Nepal. The Tibetan version of the *Cakrasaṃvara,* sometimes also known as *Dākinījāla,* was partially edited and translated by Kazi Dawa-samdup under the title *Śrīcakrasaṃbhāra-tantra* which came out in 1919. It teaches the mantras, the meditations, the pictures of the male and female principles, rituals of different kinds and symbolical significance of the *mantras* connected with *mahāsukha* or great bliss.[1]

[1] *Le Museon*, IV, No. 1, 1903.

[2] *GOS*, XXVI, XLI; cf. V. Bhattacharyya and K. S. Ramaswami Sastri in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, II, 1926, pp. 626ff.; III, 1927, pp. 161ff.

The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* was edited by T. Ganapati Sastri in 1920-22.[2] It is described as a *Mahā-Vaipulya-Mahāyāna Sūtra* and as belonging to the *Avataṃsaka.* This work which is a manual of Tantric Buddhism, containing a mine of informations, was translated into Chinese between 980 and 1000 AD and into Tibetan in the eleventh century. A Tibetan text, closely allied with the aforesaid work, known as *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti,* was edited by Minayeff in his Russian work on Buddhism as early as in 1887. It was formerly a *Yogatantra* but later became attached with the *Kālacakra.* A Sanskrit manuscript of this text is in Salu. Considerable extracts from a Sanskrit MS. of the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-tantra* were given by H.P. Sastri.[3] It deals on the one hand with the doctrine of dependent origination according to the philosophical viewpoint of the Mahāyāna and on the other hand with the cult of the Yoginīs such as Mohavajrī, Piśunavajrī, Rājavajrī etc., along with elaborate sex rites. H.P. Sastri's *Advayavajrasaṃgraha* (collection of works supposed to be written by the celebrated Tantric teacher Advayavajra) was published in 1927. Indrabhūti's *Jñānasiddhi* and Anaṅgavajra's *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi* were edited by B.T. Bhattacharyya in 1929.[4] The oldest extant Buddhist Tantra, the *Tathāgataguhyaka* or *Guhyasamāja* was edited and published by B.T. Bhattacharyya in 1931 from *GOS.* In 1917 H.P. Sastri found three MSS. of this text and recorded them in his *Descriptive Catalogue.* The text begins with instructions as to various kinds of meditation, but for the most part it merely teaches *mantras* and *yantras,* as well as the ma-kāras including sexual union with

[1] Published in *Tantric Texts*, VII (intro. and Eng. tr.) and XI (Tibetan text.)

[2] Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Nos. LXX and LXXVI, 1920, 1922; cf. J. Przyluski in *Bulletin de l'ecole francaise d' Extreme Orient*, XXIII, 1923, pp. 301ff.

[3] *Des. Cat. of Sans. MSS. in the ASB*, I, 1917, pp. 131ff.

[4] *GOS*, XLIV, 1929.

Caṇḍāla girls as the means to the highest perfection.

Of other important textual publication of Tantric Buddhism reference should be made to the *Bhaiṣajyaguru*, *Ekādaśamukha*, *Hayagrīvavidyā* and *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānavyūha*, all edited in Sanskrit in the *Gilgit MSS.* I, 1939. The *Ratnaketudhāraṇī* was edited in Vol. IV of the *Gilgit MSS.* (1959). These texts have also their Tibetan versions. The *Mahāvairocana* was translated in parts in French by Tajima in 1936.[1] A text of the *Dākārṇava* was found in Apabhraṃśa. It had also Tibetan version. It was edited by N.N. Chaudhuri in 1935. There is a Sanskrit MS. of the *Kālacakra* in Cambridge. Its Tibetan version was worked out by A.I. Vostrikov who made a Russian rendering of the text in the thirties. Its commentary made by Nāḍapāda was known as *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* which was edited by Carelli in 1941 (*GOS*). Abhayākaragupta's *Nispannayogavālī* belongs to the class of *Sādhanamālā*, dealing with the characteristics of the deities of Vajrāyāna. It was edited by B.T. Bhattacharyya in 1949 (*GOS*). In 1959 Snellgrove's edition and translation of the *Hevajra-tantra* came out in two volumes from London. Since it is a very important publication, something about its contents will be described later.

Most of the works mentioned above deal with the philosophical and ritualistic aspects of Vajrayāna Buddhism. There is a Buddhist Tantra known as *Kālacakratantra*[2] which introduces the cult of Kālacakra. This cult came into vogue from the tenth century AD and had much in common with Vajrayāna. The god Kālacakra was also popular in Tibet and China. The word Kālacakra means the wheel of time. Its Tibetan synonym dus-kyi-k'or-lo also means the circle of time. From the *Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā*[3] which is a commentary on the Sekoddeśa section of the *Kālacakra-tantra*, it is known that by Kāla is denoted the ultimate immutable and unchanging reality remaining in all the elements and by Cakra is meant the unity of the three kinds of existence, and as such Kālacakra is the same as the unity of Prajñā and Upāya. There is also another commentarial work on the *Kālacakra-tantra* known as *Vimalaprabhā*. By ASB the text is going to be published.[4] Another ramification of Tantric Buddhism is Sahajayāna

[1] *Etude sur le Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, Paris, 1936.

[2] Cambridge University Library MS. Add. No. 1364. It is in Sanskrit. A Tibetan version is also found.

[3] Ed. M.E. Carelli Baroda, 1941.

[4] Asiatic Society MS. No. 4727.

which considers the human body itself as the seat of all human experience including that of *Sahaja-mahāsukha*, a peaceful, blissful, radiant and waveless experience of the *Sahaja* which is the ultimate inner nature of the beings. What is natural is the easiest, and hence there is no need of religious formalities, austere practices of discipline, reading and philosophising, fasting, constructing temples and images and so on. There is no exclusive literature belonging to the Sahajayāna except the Dohās and songs which have been the main source of inspiration of the regional literature of eastern India. In 1907 MM. Haraprasad Sastri discovered as many as fifty songs composed by different Siddhācāryas belonging to Sahajayāna and these were published in 1916, as we have mentioned above, under the title *Bouddha Gan O Dohā*. Subsequently P.C. Bagchi discovered from the Tanjur collection the Tibetan translation of all these songs (1938) and published more Dohās composed by Sarapapāda, Kānhapāda and Tillopāda.[1] The songs of Kanha and Saraha were translated with learned interpretations and comments in French by M. Shahidullah in his *Les Chants Mystiques de Kanha et de Saraha* (Paris, 1928). Rahul Sankrityayana had discovered and published many more Dohās of Sarahapada and also published the Tibetan translation of a good number of Dohās of Saraha (1957), the originals of which are still missing.[2] In 1956 appeared the *Caryāgītikośa of Buddhist Siddhas*, edited and annotated by P.C. Bagchi in collaboration with Śānti Bhikṣu Śāstrī. The work is an edition of the text of the obscure Bengali Caryā songs and the Sanskrit commentary thereon by Munidatta discovered by H.P. Sastri from Nepal and published in 1916. Both the text and the commentary have been edited in the light of Tibetan translations previously discovered by Bagchi.

As we have stated above, the studies on Tantric Buddhism were inseparably associated with the discoveries of Tibetan materials and with works made on the basis of those materials. L.A. Waddells *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* which was published from London in 1895 was a comprehensive work on Tantric Buddhism, but it was prejudiced with the author's Christian outlook. According to him it was a cult of demoniacal Buddhas which incorporated the Mahāyāna

[1] *Dohākośa*, Calcutta, Sanskrit Series 1938; also see *Journal of the Department of Letters*, XXVIII, pp. 1-180; XXX, pp. 1-156.

[2] *Dokākośa*, with Hindi tr., Patna, 1957.

practices and called itself Vajrayāna or the thunderbolt vehicle. It was a coarse Tantric development of the Ādi-Buddha theory combined with its puerile mysticism of Mantrayāna, and it attempts to explain creation and the secret powers of nature by the union of terrible Kālī, not only with the Dhyānī Buddhas but even with Ādi-Buddha himself. And these demoniacal Buddhas under the name Kālacakra, Heruka, Acala, Vajrabhairava, etc., were credited with powers not inferior to those of the celestial Buddhas themselves. They were to be conciliated by constant worship of themselves and their female energies, the dreadful Dakinī fiendesses all of Kālī type —with offerings and sacrifices, magic circles, special mantra-charms, etc. Tantric aspect of Tibetan Buddhism were subsequently discussed in Grunwedel's *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongoloi* (1900) and G. Schulemann's *Die Geschichte der Dalailamas* (1911). In 1926, H. Zimmer in his *Kunstform und Yoga im indischen Kultbild* dealt with the questions relating to the male and female principles which found expression in the Tantric Buddhist concepts of Upāya and Prajñā. The publication of Obermiller's English translation of Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism* in 1931 marked an important stage in the study of Tantric Buddhism.[1] One of the most important contribution to Tibetan Buddhism and its deities forming the Tantric pantheon was A.K. Gordon's *Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism* which was published in 1939.[2]

B.C. Bhattacharyya's *Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism* originally published in 1924 and subsequently in an enlarged and revised form in 1932 is the theoretical culmination of his previous researches on Buddhist texts in which he has laid down the basic principles of Tantric Buddhism. According to Bhattacharyya, the Buddhist Tantras in outward appearance resemble the Hindu Tantras to a marked degree but in reality there is very little similarity between them, either in subject-matter or in philosophical doctrines inculcated in them, or in religious principles. He also declares that the Buddhists were the first to introduce the Tantras into their religion and that the Hindus borrowed them from the Buddhists in later times. In this book he has given an account of the Tantric Buddhist texts and their authors mainly from Tibetan sources. A perfect description of the deities of Tantric pantheon has also been given. Another work which should especially be mentioned in this connection is M.M. Bose's *Post-Chaitanya Sahajiyā Cults of Bengal*. This book came out in 1930 in which the learned author tried to prove the Sahajayāna origin of numerous Bengali poems, collected by himself, belonging to Sahajiyā Vaiṣṇavism. According to him, Vikramśilā was the centre of Tantric learning which gradually spread to Bengal, Assam and Orissa. The Sahajiyā Vaiṣṇava concept of pure love as the way of realising the ultimate reality within one's own self, represented by the aspirant and his female partner impersonating Krṣṇa and Rādhā, is a direct adaptation of that between Upāya and Prajñā in Tantric Buddhist conception.

The question of male-female union has been studied in detail by W.V. Evans-Wentz in his *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines* which was published in 1935. He wants to say that the Buddhist Tantras represent "a philosophy comprehensive enough to embrace the whole of knowledge, a system of meditation which will produce the power of concentrating the mind upon anything whatsoever, and an art of living which will enable one to utilize each activity (of body, speech, and mind) as an aid on the path of liberation." Women of the world signify the elements of the psycho-physical personality representing 'the world' of Buddha. These female principles have opposite male principles. Four of the female principles form a special group representing the vital forces of the *mahābhutas* or gross elements—earth, water, fire and air—and their corresponding psychic centres (*cakra*) or planes of consciousness within the human body. In each of them the union of male and female principles takes place until the final or the highest stage is reached. This is taught in Tilopā's famous six doctrines upon which the most important Yoga method of the Kahgyutpa is based. In 1939 was also published P.C. Bagchi's *Studies in the Tantras*. It is a collection of his articles on

[1]Also see C. Bell, *Religion of Tibet*, 1931; G. Tucci, *Indo Tibetica*, 7 vols. 1932 ff. J. Filliozat in *Journal Asiatique*, 1941-42, pp. 1-81; M. Lalou, *Inventarie des Manuscrits tibetans de Touen-huang*, 2 vols. 1939-50; Li An Che in *JRAS*, 1948, pp. 142-63; Y. Shyuki, *The Denkarma, An Oldest Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon*, 1951; G. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 2 vols. 1949-53.

[2]Getty's *Gods of Northern Buddhism* (London, 1908) and Clark's *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass. are also very important works for the understanding of the Tantric cults of Tibet, the deities their conceptions and iconographic peculiarities. B.C. Bhattacharyya's *Indian Buddhist Iconography* (London, 1924; revised ed., Calcutta, 1958), mainly based on the *Sādhanamālā* and the *Nispannayogavālī*, also throws much light on the Tantric cults of Nepal, China and Tibet.

different aspects of Tantra published in different journals. Some facts about Buddhist Tantric literature, the rituals of *Prajñābhiṣeka* or initiation into the doctrine of Prajñā, the questions relating to the origin of Buddhist Tantra in Bhoṭadeśa, the legend of Vaśiṣṭha's visit to China in quest of Tantric knowledge, and other kindred features of Tantric Buddhism have been discussed in this work.

In 1936 H.V. Glasenapp wrote on the origin of Vajrayāna under the title *Die Entestehung des Vajrayāna*[1] in which the learned author has compared the Tantric traditions as found in Tibet and Mongolia with those found in certain schools of Japan, like the Shingnon and the Tendai, and held that in the case of the latter two, the female deities figuring in the *maṇḍalas*, like Prajñāpāramitā or Chundā were sexless beings and as such there was no question of sexual association, unlike the Tantric schools of Bengal, Nepal and Tibet which emphasized the aspects of the union of the male and female principles. Glasenapp's another work *Buddhistische Mysterien* came out in 1940. The history of Tantric Buddhism in India, especially in her eastern region, which had of course maintained links with Nepal and Tibet was especially dealt with in S.B. Dasgupta's *Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengali Literature* (1946) and *Introduction to Tantric Buddhism* (1950), N.N. Dasgupta's *Bāṅglāy Bauddhadharma* (in Bengali, 1947) and N.R. Ray's *Bāṅgālīr Itihās* (in Bengali, 1949). In N.N. Dasgupta's work we come across a general history of Vajrayāna and other forms of Tantric Buddhism that flourished in Bengal in the Pāla period while in N. R. Ray's work we come across an attempt to find the social basis of all these. But the works of S. B. Dasgupta serve a greater purpose. They do not only give a highly interesting account of the origin and evolution of different forms of Tantric Buddhism, but also that of the influence of different forms of Tantric Buddhism, especially of Sahajiyā Buddhism, on different aspects of religious life of the subsequent period, on different heterodox and protestant sects and on the ideas revealed in their literature. Unlike B.C. Bhattacharyya, Dasgupta holds that Tantrism was a very old religious undercurrent which influenced alike all the major forms of Indian religious systems, Buddhist and non-Buddhist. In his first work he has dealt with the growth of Sahajiyā cults in Buddhism, the general philosophical

[1] *ZDMG*, Vol. 90, Leipzig, 1936.

standpoint of the Caryāpada, the religious outlook of the Buddhist Sahajiyās, the practices of the Sahajiyās and the state of supreme bliss (*mahāsukha*), the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā cult, non-sectarian approach to the doctrines of the Sahajiyās, their influence on the Bauls of Bengal, the Nātha and Dharma cults, and allied features in relation to cosmic speculations as revealed in the texts of these sects. The second work begins with a preliminary dealing with the history of the emergence of Tantric ideas in the field of Buddhism and then the work goes on to describe the unsystematised philosophical fragments found in the Buddhist Tantras, schools of Tantric Buddhism, theological position of Tantric Buddhism, the elements of esoteric Yoga inherent in Tantric Buddhism and the argument of the Tantric Buddhists in defence of their Yoga.

Three of the more important strands of the Tibetan tradition have become better known in recent years: the Gelugpa by the information which Alex Wayman has provided on Tsongkhapa's *Stages on the Path of Enlightenment* (1952), the Nyingmapa through Evans Wentz's *The Tibetan Book of Great Liberation* (1954), and the Kahgyupta by H.V. Guenther's translation of Sgam-po-pa's *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation* (1959). Works of Padmasambhava, Sāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla, Longchenpa and je Mipham belong to Nyingmapa sect. The Kagyupa works, *Sakya bkah hlum* and the collected works of the Sakyapa heirarchs and the *Rgyud sde Kun btus* collection are very important for the study of Tantric Buddhism. The Gelugpa works are the complete works of Tsong-kh-apa, the founder of the sect, and his two disciples as well as the works of other saints of the sect such as Panchen Lama Yongzin Yeshes rgyal mtshan, Thu-u-Khen, Kyang-cha Rīn-pu-che, Nuchu yap sras, Sumpa Khan Po and je Phalang Khapa. In 1952 H.V. Guenther had published a significant work under the title *Yuganaddha: The Tantric View of Life*. Yuganaddha literally means 'bound together or yoked together, in the case of opposites'. In this work he has endeavoured to prove that the followers of Tantric Buddhism tried to view life neither as an indulgence in passion nor as an escape from it. The sexual aspects of the Tantras are nothing but the corrective against the one-sided intellectualism and rationalism which is unable to cope with the problems of everyday life. The symbolic Yuganaddha points to the unique harmony and interpenetration of masculinity and feminity. Man's experience and outlook cannot be complete and fruitful if he has no experience

of feminity. Bi-sexuality is inherent in all beings and this aspect has to be exercised in order to understand the truth of one's own nature. Sexual partnership is therefore the best expression for the most intimate relation between the two opposites. For the man, woman is a material object of concentration, a goddess for meditation and a symbolic truth for comprehension. This work, although criticized from different corners, has evoked much interest among the scholars. Guenther's other works are *The Life and Teaching of Naropa* (Oxford, 1963), *Treasures on the Tibetan Middle Way* (Leiden, 1966), and *Buddhist Philosophy in Theory and Practice* (London, 1972).

Of other work dealing with the Tantric traditions in relation to Tibetan and Indian Buddhism mention should be made of D.L. Snellgrove's *Buddhist Himalayas* (1957) and *Hevajratantra* (tr. and. ed in 2 vols. 1959), Lama Anagarika Govinda's *Foundation of Tibetan Mysticism* (1959) and G. Tucci's *Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍalas* (1961). Part one of Snellgrove's *Hevajra* contains an introduction, English translation, contents, diagrams, glossary and index while part two contains Sanskrit and Tibetan texts and a commentary called *Yogaratnamālā*. This Tantra was in existence as early as the eighth century AD. There are reasons to hold that the *Advayavajrasaṃgraha* and *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* have drawn heavily from this text. Tucci's work on the Maṇḍalas is also a significant contribution to the understanding of Buddhist Tantric rituals. As early as in 1941 he had given illustrations of the tables containing Maṇḍalas in *Indo-Tibetica*, volume IV.[1] In the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* Maṇḍalas (any ritual figure or diagram generally circular drawn on an altar and the like) are described with special directions for painting them. The *Guhyasamāja* speaks of a Maṇḍala of sixteen cubits with a *Cakra* inside. The *Nispannayogāvalī* of Abhayakara Gupta (ed. B.T. Bhattacharyya, *GOS*, 1949) describes 26 Maṇḍalas in 26 chapters, each Maṇḍala having a central deity and other minor divinities, sometimes more than one hundred in number. Ariane Macdonald has made good use of Tibetan sources in her study of the second chapter of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* in her *Le Maṇḍala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Paris, 1962).

[1]cf. Erik Haarh, Contributions to the Study of Maṇḍala and Mudrā, in *Acta Orientalia*, 1958, XXIII, pp. 57-91. A complete bibliography of Tucci's writings from 1911 to 1970 is to be found in the *Opera minora*, I, Roma, 1971, pp. XI-XXIV.

In Central Asia have been found a large number of texts belonging both to the Mahāyāna and Tantric systems of Buddhism. These will be introduced in a subsequent chapter. The Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology has published a number of Tantric works like *br Tag gnyis*, translated by Pandita Gayadhara and Lotsava Sakya, *gsang sngags snga gyur* (1976, Tantric Doctrine according to Nyingmapa), etc. The Institute has complete sets of the works of the four sects—Nyingmapa, Kagyupa, Sakyapa and Gelugpa. Recently (1977) Tsong-ka-pa's *Tantra in Tibet: The Exposition of the Secret Mantra*, edited and translated into English by Jeffrey Hopkins, has been published from London. Lessing and Wayman published translation of Mkhas-grub rje's *Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras* (The Hague, 1968) which is a systematic survey of Tantrism by one of Tsoṅ-kha-pa's main pupils. It was subsequently reissued as *Introduction to Buddhist Tantric Systems*. This work is the survey of the rich literature on this topic in Tibetan by Mkhas-grub-rje, presenting the non-Tantric materials, preliminary for Tantric study and practice. Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga, Anuttarayoga, generation of self into deity, meditations, maṇḍala rituals, different kinds of initiation and consecration etc., are dealt with in detail. In his subsequent work *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra* (1977) Alex Wayman has used published Sanskrit texts, the *Pradīpoddyotana* Ms, relevant texts translated into Tibetan, and thirteen Tibetan works on Tantra by Tsong-khe-pa, the founder of the Gelugpa sect. He has laid out the documents by presenting the forty Nidāna verses that were quoted in Sanskrit in the *Pradīpoddyotana*, and the chapters six and twelve of the basic Tantra with some commentarial exposition. Then he initiates the reader into the Tantra by various introductions including a translation of the Guhyasamāja Akṣobhyamaṇḍala. There follows a remarkable synthetic commentary on the forty Nidāna verses that go with the forty syllables of the Tantra. The special teaching of four-stage Yoga is continued into appendices that developed the practical side.

Chapter 7

Studies on Central Asian Sources

From different sites of Central Asia numerous Buddhist MSS. in Prakrit, Sanskrit, Uigur, Tokharian, Khotanese, Kuchean, Sogdian and also in other dialects have been found. The Central Asian MSS. belong to all the major forms of Buddhism. The Hīnayāna texts found in Sanskrit language are attributed to the Sarvāstivādins and the Dharmaguptakas, the sects that attained much popularity in Central Asia. The MSS. belonging to the Mahāyāna represent its early form. Texts of the Tantric Buddhism are mainly of the nature of the Dhāraṇis. Prajñāpāramitā literature also forms an integral part of the Central Asian Collection. The Central Asian fragments of the Āgamas, corresponding to the Nikāyas in Pali, have been traced in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, but there are differences between the originals and their translations. Apart from the Āgamas, in Central Asia have been found a few fragments of the Vinaya texts corresponding to the Vinaya Piṭaka in Pali. No fragment of the Abhidharma Piṭaka has so far been discovered in Central Asia. Besides the Buddhist texts, there are a few MSS. which deal with secular matters like medicine.

As early as in 1890, Colonel Bower purchased from the local Turks an extensive birch-bark manuscript which was dug out from the sands of Qumtura, a site near Kucha. It was a medical treatise written in Sanskrit in the north-Indian script of the fourth century AD. It was subsequently edited by Hoernle in three volumes. A few years later, a French traveller. Dutreuil de Rhins came across two birch-bark MSS. from Khotan. These were found to be a new Prakrit version of the *Dhammapada* written in the Kharosthi script of the second century AD. This evoked much interest among scholars and archaeologists, and explorations made by Aurel Stein, A. Grunwedel, A. Van Le Cog and Paul Pilliot yielded the most epoch-making results from various sites of Eastern Turkestan, viz., Kucha, Khotan, Turfan, Niya and Lon-lan. The results of Stein's investigation were published in his *Ancient Khotan* (2 vols.), *Innermost Asia* (5 vols.) and *Serindia* (5 vols.) The Russian archaeologists led an expedition to dig in Turfan headed by Klementz. As a result of the efforts of S. Oldenburg, M. Berezovsky, N. Krotkov and others, the Russian academy of Sciences came to possess a rich collection of Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and Khotanese, mostly from Kashgar and Khotan. Credit for compiling this manuscript collection went largely to N. Petroffsky. S. Oldenburg succeeded in identifying a number of Sanskrit Buddhist texts which he published in the Bulletin of the Oriental Department of the Russian Archaeological Society. He published more than thirty fragments from Petroffsky's collection. His colleagues. Mironov and Stael-Holstien also contributed much to the Central Asian Buddhistic studies. Otani and Tachibana from Japan showed much interest in Central Asian archaeological expeditions. The most important discovery was that of the lost Sanskrit Buddhist canon.

Among the finds of manuscripts in Central Asia the fragments of the Āgama so far discovered are most probably the oldest. Very likely these Āgamas were carried to Central Asia by monks and traders of Gandhāra and Kashmir. Two Sūtras of the *Dīrghāgama*, corresponding to the Pali *Dīgha Nikāya* have been found, viz., the *Saṃgatisūtra* and the *Āṭānātiyasūtra*. The fragments of the former contain an enumeration of different *dharmas* and their constituents. The contents of the letter are basically different from those found in the Pali Suttanta of the same name. The *Upālisūtra* and *Sūkasūtra*, belonging to the *Madhyamāgama*, corresponding to the Pali *Majjhima Nikāya*, have been found in Central Asian fragments. The former is a comparatively small portion of the original folio, which must have been three times as large. The text is written in Āryā verses and we have the corresponding Pali text to restore the full text of the mutilated verses. The latter in two folios is in an excellent state of preservation. From the *Saṃyuktāgama*, corresponding to the Pali *Sāṃyutta Nikāya*, we have in Central Asian fragments the *Pravāraṇāsūtra* in almost perfect condition and the *Candropama* and *Śakti* Sūtras in mutilated condition. A few other Sūtras belonging to this Āgama have also come to light, of which mention will be made later. All these texts have been edited in the first volume of R. Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature in Eastern Turkestan* (1916).

There was no fifth Āgama corresponding to the Pali *Khuddaka Ni-*

kāya, but a few texts belonging to this category have been found elsewhere. Stein and Hoernle discovered a portion of the Sanskrit version of the *Suttanipāta* in Central Asia. It is contained in fragments of five folios. They contain certain portion of the *Aṭṭhavagga* or the 'very old tradition' (the fourth section of the *Suttanipāta*). The text is written in verses which enable us to compare the surviving Sanskrit text with the one in Pali. As has been stated earlier. J.L. Dutreuil de Rheins and M. Petroffsky discovered the manuscript of the *Dharmapada* written in Prakrit at Khotan. The fragments taken to Paris by Dutreuil were noticed in *Competes renders de l'academie des inscriptions* in 1898. The fragments collected by Petroffsky were identified by S.F. Oldenburg in 1907. On the basis of information contained in these fragments B.M. Barua and S.N. Mitra published a revised edition of *Dharmapada* in 1921. The fragments had been assigned to the first century AD by Bühler and Sten Konow and to the third century AD by Lüders. The manuscript was composed in Kharosthi script. Stein, Grunwedel and Pelliot mission discovered in Central Asia fragments of manuscripts of a Sanskrit text called *Udānavarga*. Written in Sanskrit it is similar in contents to the *Dharmapada*. The collection is attributed to Dharmatrāta, a famous teacher of the Sarvāstivāda school. It is interesting to note that this text has a Tibetan version which was translated as early as in 1883 by Rockhill. Prof. Pischel was the first to edit portions of the Central Asian *Udānavagra* in 1908 under the title *Die Turfan Recensions des Dharmapada*.[1] Fragments of Stein's collection were introduced by Levi in 1910 and these were published by Vallee Poussin in 1912. The whole text of the Pelliot Manuscript was later edited and published by N.P. Chakravarti in 1930.[2]

Fragments of Vinaya texts have also been discovered in Central Asia. The Central Asian Vinaya most probably belonged to the Sarvāstivādins or the Dharmaguptakas. It is likely that the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya reached China from Central Asia, for a fragment of monastic regulations relating to begging of food found in Central Asia agrees according to Hoernle to the Chinese versions of the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya.[3] Fragments corresponding to the *Mahāvagga*

[1] *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 356, 377.
[2] *L'Udānavarga Sanskrit*, Paris, 1930.
[3] Hoernle, op. cit., p. 8.

of the Vinaya Piṭaka found in the Stein collection had been edited by Vallee Poussin. The *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* discovered in Central Asia was, however, attributed by L. Finot to Sarvāstivāda. It is of course a fact that the *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Sarvāstivāda is well represented by the fragments of the texts coming from the northern part of Central Asia. A complete text of the *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* was discovered by the French mission in the ruins of Duldur Aqur at Kucha. The *Prātimokṣa Sūtra* edited by L. Finot in 1913 on the basis of the manuscript fragments discovered by Pelliot has a fair affinity with the Pali *Pātimokkhasutta*.[1] The *Bhikṣ Uṇiprātimokṣa* has also been discovered by both French and German missions in Turfan and edited by Waldschmidt in 1926.[2] Three sets of fragments on the monastic regulations have been found. The first one deals with the rules concerning begging of food. These rules agree with the tenth chapter of the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya. The second one contains regulations regarding bed-stead and carrying of staff and string. The third one deals with the technical terms of initiation.

A manuscript of the *Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācana*, belonging to the Sanskrit Vinaya has been found. It is incomplete; only 25 folios are preserved. It was edited by Vallee Poussin and Ridding.[3] A very important text called *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* belonging to the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya written in Sanskrit had been discovered by the German mission from the ruins of Soreuq near Turfan. A detailed study of this Sūtra was made by Waldschmidt, and it was subsequently edited by him in 1950. Six fragments of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* are now in the Leningrad collection. In the Berlin Collection of Sanskrit literary remains from Central Asia there is a manuscript (no. S. 474) which had been identified by Waldschmidt with 25 Sūtras of the *Nidānasaṃyukta*, one of the most important parts of the Sanskrit *Saṃyuktāgama* which corresponds to the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* of Pali. The greater part of the first 19 leaves of the manuscript has been preserved. The script is of the older Central Asian Brahmi type. It was edited and published by E. Waldschmidt in 1932 and subsequent-

[1] L. Finot, Prātimokṣa des Sarvāstivādins, *Journal Asiatique*, 1913.
[2] Waldschmidt in *Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte*, III, Leipzig, 1926.
[3] See Ridding in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, I, pp. 123ff; also Filliozat and Kuno in *Journal Asiatique*, 1938, pp. 21ff.

ly by Tripathi in 1962.[1] Of the subsequent editions of the Central Asian manuscripts on the Vinaya and the Sūtras we may refer to the *Vinayavastu—Karmavācana* (ed. Hartel, 1956), *Vinayavibhaṅga* (ed. Rosen, 1959), *Mahāvadāna* (ed. Waldschmidt, 1952, 1956), *Catuṣpariṣat* (ed. Waldschmidt, 1952, 1957, 1962) and *Daśottara* (ed. Mittal and Schlingloff, 1957, 1962).

Among the texts belonging to the Mahāyāna, we may refer to a number of fragments of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* discovered in Central Asia and collected by A. Stein, N. Petroffsky and K. Otani. Hoernle records three fragments of this text found at Khadalik, one edited by F.W. Thomas and the other two by Lüders. Kern examined the fragments of this text collected by Petroffsky from Kashgar and wrote that "it is much more prolix, and in the material parts, the verses followed after a different order but the most striking difference is in the language of the prose parts" and that there are "more Prakitisms and wrongly Sanskritised expression than those in the Nepalese manuscripts."[2] The manuscript which Kern consulted from the Leningrad collection was known as McCartney manuscript. It consisted of 280 folios, 56 by 17 cm. in ornamental uncial upright Central Asian Brahmi. The Leningrad collection contains approximately 100 other fragments of different *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* copies.[3] It should be mentioned in this connection that after the death of S. F. Oldenburg, work on Leningrad collection was neglected until the early 1950s, when V.S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky revived the studies. He succeeded in identifying several important Sanskrit and Khotanese texts, some of which he was able to bring out before his untimely death.

Another important specimen of the Leningrad collection is the

[1]E. Waldschmidt, Bruchstücke buddhistischer Sūtras aus dem Zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon, *Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte*, IV, Leipzig; see also *JRAS*, 1913; *ZDMG*, 1957, pp. 372-401.

[2]H. Kern, B. Nanjio, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, Bibliotheca Buddhica, X, St. Petersburg, 1908-12, intro.

[3]The work to prepare for publication of the McCartney MS. and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* fragments is already in the move. See G.M. Bongard-Levin and E.N. Tyomkin, Fragment of an Unknown Manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* from N.F. Petrovsky collection in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, VIII, no. 4, 1965, pp. 268-78. See also Akira Yuyama, Supplementary Remarks on "Fragment of an Unknown Manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* from N.F, Petrovski Collection" in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, IX, no. 2, 1966, pp. 85-112.

Kaśyapaparivarta manuscript in Sanskrit, so far known only from Stael-Holstein's transliteration.[1] Among other texts, the unpublished fragments of the *Śārdulakarṇāvadāna*, showing marked difference with the Nepalese version previously published by Cowell and Neil in their *Divyāvadāna* (1886, pp. 611-659) are of great value. As early as in 1904, H. Stonner published a Central Asiatic manuscript of the Sanskrit text called *Dharmaśarīra* found at Idikutsahri.[2] The Leningrad collection includes the full text of another version of the *Dharmaśarīra*, differing from the published one, both in content and in size. It also includes one folio retaining the colophon of the Sanskrit original of the *Nagaropamasūtra*, a work previously known only in a Chinese translation. Mention also should be made of the fragment from the *Samādhirājasūtra* belonging to the Leningrad collection. It is an important Mahāyāna Sūtra. In several instances the fragment gives an alternative reading compared with the text published by N. Dutt.[3] The fragment discovered corresponds to chapter 27 of the Gilgit version of this Sūtra.

Of other Mahāyāna Sūtras, two fragments of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* have been discovered. These are given in Hoernle's book along with translations. Fragments of *Ratnadhvajasūtra*, *Bhadrapālasūtra* and *Ratnarāsisūtra* are also published by Hoernle along with translation.[4] Four manuscripts of the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* have been found. These have been edited by Sten Konow in 1942 who has shown that three out of the four MSS. may be substantiated by Tibetan materials. The fourth one technically does not fall in the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā* group.[5] Another fragment of a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscripts (48 leaves) found in Central Asia was published by B.B. Vidyabinod.[6] A manuscript of the *Vajracchedikā-Prajñāpāramitā* was discovered by A. Stein in 1900-01. It was written in nineteen folios in poor Sanskrit.[7] There are a few *Prajñāpāramitā* MSS. in the Lenin-

[1]F. Weller made a translation of this text, after Stael-Holstein's edition, *Zum Kāśyapaparivarta*, Berlin, 1965.

[2]H. Stonner, Zentralasiatische Sanscrittexte in Brahmischrift aus Idikutsahri, *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XLIV, 1904, pp. 1282-87.

[3]See *Gilgit MSS.*, II, part II, Calcutta, 1953, pp. 220-23.

[4]Hoernle, op. cit., pp. 109ff.

[5]*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 69, pp. 13ff.

[6]ibid, No. 32.

[7]Hoernle, op. cit., pp. 176-95.

grad collection. The texts and translations of the fragments of *Anantamukhadhāraṇī* and *Mahāpratyaṅgirā-dhāraṇī* are given in Hoernle's collection. A fragment of the *Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī* (Sanskrit text in Brahmi script and in Sogdian transcription) brought from Central Asia by A. Stein was edited by Vallee Poussin and R. Gauthiot in 1912.[1] The Central Asian documents of the Leningrad collection contains many texts of the *dhāraṇī* type. Of these texts most important is the *Vajrapāṇisumukhanāmadhāraṇī*. Previously it was only known from Chinese, Tibetan and Khotanese translations and the Sanskrit original was falsely believed to have been lost.[2]

Remains of the works of two great Buddhist poets, Aśvaghoṣa and Mātṛceṭa, were discovered amongst the Central Asian finds. Fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's works were found by the German mission in the Turfan region. Two of the poetical works of Aśvaghoṣa, *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarānanda*, are known in original, and a third, namely the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, is preserved in the Chinese translation made by Kumārajīva. Besides a philosophical work entitled *Śradhātpādasūtra* is preserved in Chinese translation. A fragment of the *Buddhacarita* found at Turfan shows that the text was studied by the Buddhist monks of Central Asia. A drama entitled *Sāriputraprakaraṇa* discovered in the same region and not known from other sources is ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa. Only portions of the original work have been found. Possibly it is the oldest Indian drama known to us. It was published by Lüders in 1911. Another poetical work in Sanskrit agrees with the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Aśvaghoṣa as known from the Chinese translation of the work by Kumārajīva. But the Colophons of the Turfan manuscripts ascribe the work to Kumāralāta. We have already had the occasion to deal with this problem in our chapter on Buddhist sects. Still for further clarification something may be stated here. The colophon runs thus: *iti ārya kumāralātāyām Kalpanālaṃkakṛtāyām dṛṣṭānyatpaṅktyām*. Lüders who had deciphered, edited and published the manuscript (1926) held that the name of the work was *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* and its author was Kumāralāta. The Chinese tradition ascribed the work to Aśvaghoṣa through mistake. Since Kumāralāta was the founder of the *Dārṣṭāntika* (illustrative) school,

[1] *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 629ff.

[2] See G.M. Bongard Levin, M.I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya, E.N. Tyomkin, A Fragment of the Sanskrit Sumukhadhāraṇī, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, X, No. 2-3, Hague, 1967, pp. 150-59.

and since his principal work was known in Chinese as *Yu-man-lun* or *Dṛṣṭānta-mālā* (or *paṅkti*), S. Levi on the other hand thought that the name of the Turfan text was really *Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti* (as found in the colophon) and that *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* was an adjective to it. He was of opinion that it was a new edition of Aśvaghoṣa's *Sūtrālaṅkāra* expanded by the additions of examples or *dṛṣṭāntas* according to the practice of the Dārṣṭāntika school.

Central Asian finds also contain the fragments of poems of Mātṛceṭa both in Sanskrit original and in Tokharian translation. Mātṛceṭa was well known in Buddhist tradition through the Tibetan and Chinese translations of his works. I-tsing had showered unrestricted praise on him. Manuscripts of the Sanskrit original of his *Śatapañcāśatika-stotra* have been found from various sites in Central Asia such as Jigdalik-Bai, Tunhuang and Khora. Among several fragmentary Sanskrit manuscripts brought from Central Asia by Paul Pelliot there was a single paper folio in slanting Gupta script containing on one side portions of seven ślokas and on the reverse a colophon identifying the text as belonging to Mātṛceṭa's 'Hymn of 150 verses' (*Śatapañcāśatika-stotra*). This was published along with others in 1910 by S. Levi in *Journal Asiatique* under the title Texts Sanscrits de Touen Houang. In 1911 Vallee Poussin reprinted the fragment containing portions of Mātṛceṭa's verses in *JRAS*, along with three other folios discovered by Stein at Tunhuang. All these plus two extra folios found at other sites were incorporated in Hoernle's collection which came out in 1916. Fragments of another work of Mātṛceṭa, namely, *Catuḥśatakastotra* were also discovered from Khora (near Karashahr) and Jigdalik. Only 32 verses were discovered from the fragments. It appears from them that the text was originally divided in 12 chapters. From the colophon of the chapters the full title of the text is known as *Varṇanārhavarṇa Buddha-stotra Catuḥśatakam*.

The finds of manuscripts in Central Asia include fragments not only of Sanskrit texts, but also translations of Indian works in Central Asiatic languages like the Kuchean, the Khotanese, the Sogdian and the Uigur. In Kuchean or Tokharian there are translations of Buddhist texts and also some bilingual fragments of manuscripts. There are fragments of Sarvāstivāda *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* in Kuchean and also Kuchean translations of *Udānavarga, Udānastotra, Udānalaṃkāra*

and *Karmavibhaṅga*.[1] The Khotanese translations are mostly of the Mahāyānic texts collected by H. W. Bailey in five volumes under the title *Khotanese texts* (1951 ff.). As early as in 1912 E. Leumann made transliteration of several Buddhist texts.[2] There are fragments of the translations of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa, Vajracchedikā, Aparimitāyus-sūtra, Suraṅgama-samādhisūtra, Sudhana-avadāna, Prajñāpāramitā, Bhadrakalpikasūtra., Mañjuśrīnairātmya-avatārasūtra, Sumukhasūtra, Aśokāvadāna, Avalokiteśvara-dhārni, Saṃghātasūtra, Kaṇsikasūtra, Sitātapatra-dhāraṇī*, etc.[3] The Khotanese MSS. of the Leningrad collection were worked out by V.S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky during the fifties.[4] New folios of the Khotanese 'Manuscript E', which belongs to the oldest category of the Leningrad collection, and some previously unpublished fragments of the *Saṅghātasūtra* have recently been published by L. Gertsenberg. The recent find of a fragment of the Khotanese version of the *Dharmaśarīra*, which was probably composed in the seventh or eighth century AD, deserves special mention. The text, although it shows traces of affinity with H. Stonner's aforesaid Sanskrit text, cannot be regarded on the whole as the Khotanese version of the same. This Khotanese version may be a translation of another as yet unknown version of the Sanskrit original.[5]

A few Sogdian translations of Buddhist texts have been discovered from Central Asia. These are *Dīrghanakhasūtra, Vessantara-jātaka, Vimalakīrtinirdeśa, Dhyāna-sūtra, Dhuta-sūtra, Nīlakaṇṭhadhāraṇī* and *Padmacintāmaṇidhāraṇī-sūtra*. The Sogdian version of the *Vessantara-jātaka* was edited and translated by R. Gauthoit in 1912.[6] The transcripts and translations of the Sogdian manuscripts belonging to the British Museum were published by R. Reichlet in two volumes, the

[1]For Kuchean fragments see S. Levi in *JA*, 1911, XVII, pp. 138ff., 431ff.; 1912, XIX, pp. 101ff.; *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 109ff., and in Hoernle, op. cit., I, pp. 357ff.

[2]E. Leumann, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literature*, Strassburg, 1912, pp. 84-89; *Buddhistische Literature*, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 157-164.

[3]For fragments in Khotanese see also Konow and Hoernle, in Hoernle, op. cit., pp. 214ff., 288ff., 395ff.

[4]Manuscripts in Central Asian Writings (in Russian), *Ucheniye Zapisky Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, XVI, Moscow, 1958, pp. 280-308.

[5]G.M. Bongard Levin, *Studies in Ancient India and Central Asia*, Calcutta, 1971, p. 234.

[6]*Journal Asiatique*, XIX, 1912, pp. 163ff., 430ff.

first of which (1928) dealt with Buddhist texts. Among the Buddhist records preserved in the Sodgian and the Khotanese, fragments were published by E. Leumann in his work on North Aryan Language and Literature (1912) and on Buddhist Literature (1920). Another work in German on the North Aryan (Śaka) Didactic poetry of Buddhism was published with a translation by M. Leumann in 1933. With the establishment of Uigur empire with its capital in the Turfan region in the ninth century, Buddhism found another patron in the Turks. The Central Asian texts thus came to be translated in the Uigurish language which was basically a Turkish language. Among these translations we have *Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka, Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra, Jātakas, Sūtras* of Kalyāṇakara and Pāpaṅkara, etc. As early as the first decade of the present century Buddhist texts in the Uigurian language were published by H. Slönner and F.W.K. Muller.[1] The Uigur text of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* was published by W. Radloff (*Bib. Bud.*, 1913-16) and translated into German in 1930. A number of texts were also published by W. Bang and A. Von Gabain in the series called *Uigurish Studies* and *Uigurica*.

[1]H. Stonner in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie*, 1904, pp. 1282ff. F.W.K. Muller, Uigurica, I and II in *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie.*, 1908-10.

Chapter 8

The Pali Texts: Their Editions and Translations

The edition in Roman characters with an English translation of the first thirty eight chapters of the *Mahāvaṃsa* in 1837 by George Turnour marked the first important attempt to introduce the treasures of Pali literature to the scholars of the West.[1] Subsequently the subject was taken with much interest by F. Spiegel who published the *Upasampadā-Kammavācā* or formularies for admission into the order in 1841 with a Latin translation.[2] His selected stories from Pali literature in German were published from Leipzig in 1845. The Sāmaññaphala-sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* was utilised in 1852 by Burnouf in his *Lotus*. In 1855 Vincent Fausböll of Copenhagen made an edition and a Latin translation of the *Dhammapada* which was subsequently rendered into German in 1860.[3] In 1869, R.C. Childers published the *Kunddaka-pāṭha* and this was followed by his publication of the *Mahaparinibbāna-sutta* (1872-73) with text, commentary and translation.

A certain number of Jātakas had been published between 1861 and 1872 by V. Fausböll, E.P. Minayeff and J.D. Alwis. Since then Fausböll had undertaken the publication of the entire collection, at first with R.C. Childers and then, after the premature death of the latter, with T.W. Rhys Davids. The first volume of the text appeared in 1877 under the title *The Jātaka together with its commentary, being tales of the anterior births of Gotama Buddha.* The second volume of the text, as well as the first volume of the translation by Rhys Davids

[1]It was first published by the Cotta Church Mission Press of Ceylon. Turnour's essay on Pali Buddhist literature appeared in 1838 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VII, pp. 797ff. The *Mahāvaṃsa* was subsequently edited by W. Geiger (1908, 1925-27) who also translated it into English (1912) assisted by M. Bode.

[2]These were later translated into English by J.F. Dickson in *JRAS*, 1875, pp. 1ff.

[3]A French translation of the *Dhammapada* made by F. Huc was published in 1878. German tr. by L.V. Schroeder came out in 1892 and by K.E. Neumann in 1893.

appeared respectively in 1879 and 1880. Fausböll was able to publish his standard edition of the Jātakas in six volumes between 1877 and 1897. The English rendering of a Siṃhalese version of the *Kuśa-jātaka* was published by Th. Steele in 1871 under the title 'An Eastern Love Story.' An enlarged and fabricated Tibetan version of *Mahāummagga-jātaka* from the Kanjur Collections was published by A. Schiefner in 1876.[1]

In 1870 extracts from the *Vinaya Piṭaka* was rendered into Russian by I.P. Minayeff. The text of *Pātimokkha* was translated and published separately in 1876 by J.F. Dickson.[2] Sir Coomara Swamy's translation of the *Sutta Nipāta* was published in 1874. Fausböll's translation of the same came out in 1881. An important advance was marked by the publication of the well known Dictionary of the Pali Language in 1875 by R.C. Childers. In 1876 came out P. Grimbolt's *Sept Suttas Palis tires du Dīgha Nikāya.* Oldenberg's translation of the *Dīpavaṃsa*, another chronicle of Ceylon, came out in 1878. The year 1879 saw the publication of two important works, the English translation of *Nidānakathā* (Buddhist Birth Stories) with a critical introduction on the transmigration of folklore by T.W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg's edition of the first part of the *Vinaya Piṭaka.*[3] The second part was published in 1880, the year which also saw the publication of R. Pischel's *Āssalāyana-sutta.* The Danish scholar V. Trenckner published his edition of the *Milindapañho* also in 1880.

In 1881, T.W. Rhys Davids founded the Pali Text Society. In his own words: "The sacred books of the early Buddhists have preserv-

[1]*Bulletin of Imperial Academy*, St. Petersburg. See W.R.S. Ralston, *Tibetan Tales derived from Indian Sources*, London, 1882. Besides the Jātakas there are other Buddhist collections of tales and fables, of which St. Julien had published a specimen from a Chinese collection. *Contes et Apologues Indiens*, 2 vols. 1860. (German tr. by A. Schnell 1903). L. Feer published in 1879 *Le Livre des cent Legendes* (Avadānaśataka) in *Journal Asiatique*, XIV, pp. 141ff., 273ff. VII of Fausböll's edition is the index vol. prepared by D. Anderson. T.W. Rhys Davids' s tr. comprised only Nos. 1-40. The complete Eng. tr. in 7 vols. was done under the editorship of E.B. Cowell (1895-1907), translators being Chalmers, Rouse, Francis, Neil and Cowell himself. R. Morris translated a number of Jātakas in *Folklore Journal*, II-IV. Gr. tr. J. Dutoit, 1908-11.

[2]*JRAS*, 1878, pp. 62ff.

[3]Oldenberg could not complete the work before 1883. The English translation of the Vinaya was made jointly by Oldenberg and Rhys Davids.

ed to us the sole record of the only religious movement in the world's history which bears any close resemblance to Christianity, and it is not too much to say that the publication of this unique literature will be no less important for the study of history and especially of religious history than the publication of the Vedas has always been." In a period of less than fifty years the *PTS* was able to publish almost the whole of the Pali canonical texts, a large number of Pali commentaries, about a dozen translations and some twenty issues of a journal containing learned articles on Buddhism and on Pali language and literature. A complete list of *PTS* publications is given below.

The *Vinaya Piṭaka*, as we have seen above, was edited by H. Oldenberg in five volumes (1879-83). It was translated in parts by T.W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg (1881-85) under the title *Vinaya texts* which was published in the *Sacred Books of the East Series*. Subsequently the *PTS* published a complete English translation of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* made by I. B. Horner (1938-52).[1] The *Dīgha Nikāya* was edited in three parts by T.W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter (1890, 1903, 1911). Its translation made by T.W. Rhys Davids came out respectively in 1899, 1910 and 1921 under the title *Dialogues of the Buddha*. Selections from this text were translated by the same as early as in 1881.[2] The *Majjhima Nikāya* was edited by V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers (1888-1902) and its English translation made by Chalmers appeared under the title *Further Dialogues of the Buddha* (1926-27).[3] The *PTS* also had brought out a new English translation made by I.B. Horner under the title *The Middle Length Sayings* (1954-59) The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* was edited by L. Feer (1884-98) with indexes by Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids (1904). It was translated into three parts by Mrs. Rhys Davids and F. L. Woodward under the title *Book of Kindred Sayings* (1917, 1922, 1925).[4] The *Aṅguttara*

[1]German tr. by Karl Seidenstucker, 1924-25.

[2]*SBE*, XI, pp. 1ff., 158ff., 235ff. German tr. by. K.E. Neumann, Munchen 1907-18; R.O. Franke (selections), Gottingen, 1913 and P. Dhalke *Suttapiṭaka*, II (selections), Berlin, 1920.

[3]*Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, V and VI. German tr. by K.E. Neumann 1896-1902. Selections translated by T.W. Rhys Davids in *SBE*, II and (into German) by P. Dhalke, *Suttapiṭaka*, III, Berlin, 1923. Italian tr. by G.D. Lorenzo, 1907.

[4]German, tr. by W. Geiger in *Zeitschrift fur Buddhismus*, IV-VII, separately II, Munchen, 1925.

Nikāya was edited by R. Morris and E. Hardy in five volumes (1885-1900) with indexes by M. Hunt forming the sixth volume. The first volume was re-edited by A.K. Warder in 1961. The *PTS* translation of this *Nikāya* made by F.L. Woodward and E. M. Hare came out in 1932-36 under the title *The Book of Gradual Sayings*.[1]

Among the texts belonging to the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, the *PTS* brought out a number of editions and translations. The *Khuddakapāṭha* or 'the short recitals, which was first edited and translated by R.C. Childers in 1870,[2] was edited by H. Smith and M. Hunt (1915). It was translated in German by K. Seidenstucker (1910) and in English by Mrs. Rhys Davids (*Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon*, Pt. I) in 1931 and by Ñānamoli (*The Minor Readings*) in 1960.[3] The *PTS* edition of the *Dhammapada*, or 'the religious sentences, the best known work of Buddhist literature which was edited and translated into different languages,[4] was prepared by S. Sumangala Thera (1914), and a new edition and translation by Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids in 1931 (*Minor Anthologies*, Pt. I). The *PTS* edition of the *Udāna* or 'pithy sayings' was prepared by P. Steinthal (1885). It was translated into English first by D.M. Strong in 1902 and then by F.L. Woodward in 1935 under the title *Verses of Uplift*.[5] The *Itivuttaka* or 'the Buddha's sayings' was edited in 1889 by E. Windisch (reprinted in 1948) and its English translation made by F.L. Woodward came out in 1935.[6] The earlier *PTS* edition of the *Suttanipāta* or 'the section of

[1]Also translated by E.R.J. Gooneratne, Colombo 1913; A.D. Jayasundara (ed. F.L. Woodward), Adyar, Madras, 1925; into German by Bhikkhu Nānatiloka (Anton Gueth) 1911.

[2]*JRAS*, 1870, pp. 309-339.

[3]Another translation of the same is to be found in F.L. Woodward's *Some Sayings of the Buddha*. German tr. by K. Seidenstucker, Breslau, 1910.

[4]The *Dhammapada* was first edited with a Latin translation by V. Fausböll in 1855 (2nd ed. London, 1900). Eng. tr. F. Max Muller in *SBE*, X, part I; A.J. Edmunds, under the title *Hymns of the Faith*, Chicago, 1902; W.D.C. Wagiswara and K.J. Saunders, *Way of Virtue*, London, 1912. German tr. L.V. Schroeder (1892), K.E. Neumann (1893), W. Markgraf (1912), P. Dhalke (1919), R.O. Franke (1928). French tr. Fernando Huc, (Paris, 1878), L. Feer (1879), R. and M. de Maratray (1931), Italian tr. P.E. Pavolini (1908, 1912); Polish tr. St. Fr. Michalski-Iwienski (1925).

[5]German tr. K. Seidenstucker (1920); see also E. Windisch in *JPTS*, 1890, pp. 91ff.; B.C. Majumdar in *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 197ff.

[6]An English translation previously made by J.H. Moore with introduction and notes came out in 1908 from New York. German tr. K. Seidenstucker,

discourses 'was made by V. Fausböll (1885, 1893) and its English translation was also made by the same scholar.[1] A new edition also by the *PTS*, was prepared by D. Anderson and H. Smith (1913, reprinted in 1948).[2] A metrical translation of this text made by E.M. Hare came out in 1944 under the title *Woven Cadences of Early Buddhists*. The *Vimānavatthu* or 'the stories of the divine palaces' was edited by E.R. Gooneratne (1886) and the *Petavatthu* or 'ghost stories' by J. Minayeff (1888).[3] These two were again edited by Hardy (1894, 1901) and translated by Kennedy and Gehman (1942). The *Theragāthā* and *Therīgāthā*, songs of the elders and lady-elders, were edited by H. Oldenberg and R. Pischel (1883) and translated by Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids under the title *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, (I, Sisters, 1909, II, Brethren, 1913).[4] The *PTS* edition of the *Mahāniddesa* made by Vallee Poussin and E.J. Thomas was published in 1916-17 and that of *Cullaniddesa* by W. Stede in 1918. The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* or 'the path to analysis' was edited by A.C. Taylor (1905, 1907).[5] The *Apadāna* was edited by Mary E. Lilley (1925-27) while the *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Cariyāpiṭaka* by R. Morris (1882). The last two were translated into English by B.C. Law in 1938 (*The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon*, Part III).

Among the Abhidhamma texts the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* or 'compendium of Dhammas' was edited by E. Müller (1885). Its English translation made by Mrs. Rhys Davids came out in 1900 (2nd revised ed. 1923) under the title *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*. The Vibhaṅga or 'Classification' was edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids (1904), the *Dhātukathā* or 'discourse on the elements' by E. R. Gooneratne (1892), the *Pudgalapaññatti* or 'description of human individuals' by R. Morris (1893, Eng. tr. under the title *Designation of*

Leipzig, 1922; Italian by P.E. Pavolinl, *Testi de morale buddhistica*, Lanciano, 1912, pp. 97-111.

[1] *SBE*, X, Part II.

[2] Eng. tr. by Chalmers, *HOS*, 1932; German tr. K.E. Neumann, 1911.

[3] See L. Feer in *JA*, 1884, pp. 109ff., 138ff.; W. Stede, *Die Gespenster geschichten des Petavatthu*, Leipzig, 1914; B.C. Law, *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, Calcutta, 1923.

[4] German tr. K.E. Neumann, Berlin 1899. Index by W. Stede in *JPTS*, 1924-27, pp. 38ff. cf. E. Muller in *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 536ff.

[5] cf. C.A.F. Rhys Davids in *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 238ff.

Human Types by B.C. Law 1923),[1] the *Kathāvatthu* or 'subjects of discourse' by A.C. Taylor (1894, 1897, Eng. tr. under the title *Points of Controversy* by S.Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids 1915), the *Yamaka* or 'book of double questions' by Mrs. Rhys Davids, assisted by C. Dibben, M.C. Foley, M. Hunt and M. Smith (1911-13) and the *Paṭṭhāna* or the 'book of casual relationship' by Mrs. Rhys Davids (1906, 1921-23).

We have thus referred to the *PTS* editions and translations of the Tripiṭaka. There is a vast non-canonical and commentarial literature in Pali, and the credit of publishing the major portion of this literature evidently goes to the *PTS*. Among the commentarial texts the *PTS* had published the important works of Buddhaghoṣa like *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (ed. T.W. Rhys Davids, J. Carpenter and W. Stede 1886-1932), *Papañcasūdanī* (ed. Woods, Kosambi and Horner, 5 vols. 1922-38), *Sāratthappakāsinī* (ed. Woodward, 3 vols., 1929-37), *Manorathapūraṇī* (ed. Walleser and Kopp, 4 vols., 1924-56, re-ed. by Kopp 1964) *Paramatthajotika* (ed. H. Smith 1915-18, the first part translated by Nāṇamoli as *The Illustrator of Ultimate Meaning*, 1960), *Paramatthadīpanī* of Dharmapala I (ed. Müller, Hardy, Woodward, Barua and Bose, 1893-94, 1901, 1926, 1934-36, 1939-40, 1952, 1959), *Saddhammapajjotika* of Upasena (ed. A.P. Buddhadatta, 1931-40), *Visuddhajanavilāsinī* (ed. Godakumbura, 1954), *Madhuratthavilāsinī* (ed. Horner, 1946), *Samantapāsādikā* (ed. 7 vols., Takakusu, Nagai and Mizuno, 1924-47, introductory part translated by Jayawickrama as *Inception of Discipline*, 1962), *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* (ed. Maskell, 1956), *Atthasālinī* (ed. Muller, 1897, translated by P.M. Tin as *The Expositor*, 1920-21), *Sammohavinodanī* (ed. A.P. Buddhadatta, 1923), *Milindaṭīkā* (ed. Jaini, 1961), *Vinayaviniccaya* and *Uttaraviniccaya* (ed. A.P. Buddhadatta, 1928), *Abhidhammāvatāra* (ed. Buddhadatta, 1915) *Rūpārūpavibhāga* (ed. Buddhadatta, 1915), *Abhidhammathasaṅgaha* (ed. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, 1884 and translated by her as *Compendium of Philosophy*, 1910), *Mohavicchedanī* (ed. A.K. Warder, 1961), *Peṭakopadesa* (ed. A. Barua, 1949, tr. Nāṇamoli as *Piṭaka-Disclosure*, 1964), and *Nettippakaraṇa* (ed. Hardy, 1902, translated by Nāṇamoli as *The Guide*, 1962). The *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* was edited by H.C. Norman (1906-14) and translated by Burlingame (*HOS*, 1921). Buddhaghoṣa's

[1] German tr. by Bhikkhu Nānatiloka, *Das Buch der Charaktere*, Breslau, 1910.

Visuddhimagga was edited by C.A.F. Rhys Davids (*PTS*, 1920-21) and by Warren and Kosambi (*HOS*, 1950). Its German translation was made by Nānatiloka (1931-36), and English by P.M. Tin (3 vols., 1922-31) and by Nānamoli as *The Path of Purification* (Colombo, 1956). The *Milindapañho* was originally edited by V. Trenckner in 1880 (rep. *RAS*, 1928) and translated into German by F.O. Schrader in 1905 and by Nānatiloka in 1919, in French by L. Finot in 1923 and in English by T.W. Rhys Davids in *SBE*, XXXV-XXXVI and by I. B. Horner in 1963.

Besides the *PTS*, other organisations came forward to publish the Pali texts. The Harvard Oriental Series published in 1896 copious extracts from the Pali canonical and non-canonical literature, translated into English by H.C. Warren under the title *Buddhism in Translations*. From Harvard was published the English translation of the *Suttanipāta* (1932). The *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghoṣa, as we have said above, edited by Warren and Kosambi, was also published by Harvard in 1950. In Germany translations of the Tripiṭaka were undertaken by such authorities as K.N. Neumann, P. Dhalke, K. Seidenstucker *et. al.* Details of their work have been given in the footnotes in connection with the *PTS* editions of the Tripiṭaka. The Russian and East European scholars had a feeling of neglect towards Pali literature. Buddhist studies with Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian and Central Asian materials were facilitated especially by the Russian school of Buddhalogy in 1897 through the Bibliotheca Buddhica Series introduced by S.F. Oldenburg. Still Minayeff, who may be regarded as one of the founders of Russian Buddhology, worked with Pali materials and brought out critical editions of a few Pali texts as we have seen earlier. The Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta, founded by S.C. Das in 1892, although mainly banked on Sanskrit and Tibetan sources, became interested in Pali materials also, and it was due to the efforts of the members of this society that the teaching of Pali language and literature was introduced in Calcutta.

In Śrīlaṅkā the Vidyodaya Oriental College of Colombo (1872) and the Vidyālaṅkāra of Kelaniya (1873) launched a number of Buddhist projects as a result of which the publication of *Mahāvaṃsa* and its translation into Siṃhalese was undertaken by Ven. H. Sumaṅgala and Pt. Batu-Wantu-dawe, the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* and the *Nāmamālā* were edited by Ven. Dharmārāma. Under the influence of Colonel H.S. Olcott, David Hewavitarane, who later came to be known as

Anagarika Dharmapala, founded the Mahābodhi Society in Śrīlaṅkā in 1891. His brother Simon Hewavitarane donated a large sum of money for printing and publishing Pali texts. A translation of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (part II, chs. 30-100) made by L.C. Wijisimhe was published from Colombo in 1889. Subsequently the Rev. Widurapola Piyatissa edited the *Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā* in ten volumes and also commentaries on the *Netti-prakaraṇa* and the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*. He also edited the *Visuddhi-magga-granthi*, a small commentary in Ceylonese characters. The *Dīgha Nikāya* was published in the Māṇatuṅga series (1929) and the *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvani* (1933) and the *Aṭṭhasālinī mūlaṭikā* (1938) in the Vidyodaya Ṭīkā Series.[1] A.P. Buddhadatta edited the Apadāna in Ceylonese. A.P. De Soyza published Ceylonese translations of the *Dīgha*, *Majjhima* and *Saṃyutta* Nikāyas. One very interesting commentary of the *Samantapāsā dikā*, the *Vimativinodani* by Koliya Kassapa was published by H. Gabriel de Silva (1935). B. Siri Sivali edited the *Dhammapada* (1945) with text given Ceylonese and Roman scripts on pages on the left and with translation in Ceylonese and English on the right.

In Burma Nyaungyan Sayadaw (1874-1955) published 150 manuals on Buddhism, the important ones being the *Mahāsamaya-sutta*, *Brahmanimantana-sutta*, *Hemavata-sutta*, *Silakkhanda-ṭīkā*, *Namakkāra-ṭīkā*, etc. The Ven. Mingun Sayadow wrote *Milinda-aṭṭhakathā* (1949) for which he was looked upon with great disfavour by the ecclesiastical authorities and the government because he expressed independent views regarding the possibility of giving women a higher ordination. His other works include *Peṭakopadeśa-aṭṭhakathā*, *Kaṭhina-viniccaya* and *Nibbāna-kathā*. The Buddha Sasana Council of Burma decided to edit afresh the whole of the Tripiṭaka. With materials supplied from different countries, the basic text, as recorded in 729 stone slabs at the Kuthodaw temple in Mandalay, was composed and a final text established. The first volume of this text was published in 1956.

A complete edition of the Tripiṭaka in 39 volumes and in Siamese characters, was printed by the order of king Culālaṅkaraṇa in 1894 from Bangkok. In 1925 an edition of the Jātakas in 10 volumes and that of the *Milindapañho*, all in Siamese characters, were issued and

[1]The commentaries published in the Simon Hewavitarane series were also edited by learned Elders. Over 49 vols. of commentaries on the canonical texts were published. Among other important texts were the *Cariyapiṭaka* (1950), *Vinayapiṭaka* (1950), *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* (1952) and the *Jātaka* (1954).

in subsequent years as many as 45 volumes of the Tripiṭaka, 30 volumes of the Aṭṭhakathās and 10 volumes of the Prakaraṇas had been published in Siamese script. The Vajrañāna monastery of Bangkok had a rich collection of rare manuscripts like the *Saṅkhapatthajotani*, a new commentary on the *Visuddhimagga*, the *Saṅgitivaṃsa*, the *Pañcikānāma-aṭṭhayojana*, the *Jinakalāmālinī*, the *Samantapāsādikāaṭṭha-yojanā*, etc., which were edited and published during the fifties.

The Buddhist Institute of Pnom-Penh (Cambodia) founded in 1930 undertook the task of preparing and publishing Pali texts and their Cambodian translations and accordingly it published 110 volumes. Of the important publications mention may be made of *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* (1938), the *Visuddhimagga* (1946), the *Bhikkhu-pātimokkha* (1950), the *Chappakaraṇa Abhidharma* (1950), the *Maṅgalatthа-dīpanī* (1952) and the *Abhidhammaṭīkā* (1953). The task of translating the Pali canon into Japanese was undertaken, and it was completed in 65 volumes under the supervision of J. Takakusu and M. Nagai.

In India Pali texts were studied, edited or translated by individual scholars mostly without any organisational support. P.V. Bapat who brought out as early as in 1924, a critical edition of the *Suttanipāta* in Devanagari characters with parallel passages from Otto Franke's work on the same subject, published in 1939 *Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga: A Comparative Study* and in collaboration with R.D. Vadekar, who had previously published a Devanagari edition of the *Pātimokkha*, brought out critical editions in Devanagari of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* (1940) and the *Aṭṭhasālinī* (1942). Bapat also translated into English the Chinese version of the *Arthapada-sutra* (1945, 1950) and collaborated Prof. J.H. Woods of Harvard in the task of rendering into English the *Visuddhimagga*. Dharmananda Kosambi edited the *Visuddhimagga* (1940) in Devanagari characters, and this Devanagari tradition which was later followed by a host of scholars became very popular for its accessibility to the masses.[1] Kosambi's *Navanītaṭīkā* on the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* and *Dīpikā* on the *Visuddhimagga* were of great help to the students of Abhidhamma. The Bombay University later became interested in publishing Pali

[1]Kosambi's pupil C.V. Rajvade edited in Devanagari characters the first fifty suttas of the *Majjhima Nikāya* and trasnlated the *Dīgha Nikāya* into Marathi. C.V. Joshi translated a number of Jātaka stories into Marathi.

texts in Devanagari script.[1] The government of Bihar had started a Pali publication department at Nalanda and the government of India had entrusted to it the work of publishing the Pali Tripiṭaka in Devanagari characters as a result of which quite a good number of Pali texts were published. Likewise in Uttarpradesh, the Mahābodhi Sabhā at Sarnath had given us several Pali texts and their Hindi translations.[2] On behalf of the Devanagari Pali Texts Series Jagadish Kashyapa edited the *Majjhima Nikaya* (1958), *Dhammapada* (1959), *Khuddaka Nikāya* (7 vols., 1959), *Dīgha Nikāya* (1960) and *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (1960). Some Pali texts, were also printed in Bengali script and were translated into Bengali language.[3] The Mahābodhi Society of Calcutta had undertaken the task of translating into Bengali important Pali works.

With the increase of the publications by the Pali text Society, the old *Pali-English Dictionary* of R.C. Childers published as early as in

[1]Among the texts brought out, there were *Milindapañho*, edited by R.D. Vadekar, and the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas*, the *Nidānakathā*, *the Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Thera* and *Therīgāthā* and the *Mahāvagga*, edited by N. Bhagat who also brought out editions of the *Khuddakapāṭha* (published by the Buddha Society, Bombay), the *Paritta*, a few selection of the Jātakas, and the *Buddhaghoṣuppatti*.

[2]Rahul Sanskrityayana in collaboration with Anand Kausalyayana and Jagadish Kashyap had brought in Devanagari characters eleven books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. Besides his Hindi translation of the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas* and of the Vinaya, his Hindi work *Buddhacaryā* containing the life of Buddha and translations of several Pali suttas was a significant contribution to the study of Buddhism. Anand Kausalyayana made a Hindi translation of 547 Jātakas in six volumes. Jagadish Kashyap had translated into Hindi the *Milindapañho* (1937) and the *Udāna* (1938). He also gave us an excellent edition of the *Moggalāna-Vyākaraṇa* along with its Hindi translation (1940). The *Therigāthā* in Hindi by B.S. Upadhyaya, the Pali *Jātakāvalī* by B. Sharma and the *Mahaparinibbānasutta*, text and a Hindi translation by Bhikkhu Kittima (1941) were other important publications. The first 150 Jātakas had been edited by Bhikkhu Dhammarakkhita (1944). He also translated in collaboration with Jagadish Kashyap the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* in two volumes.

[3]Among the former may be mentioned the *Theragāthā* and *Therigāthā*, the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the *Mūla pannāsaka*, the *Mahāvagga*, the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the *Digha Nikāya*, the *Pācittiya* and the *Udāna* published by the Buddhist Mission, Rangoon, meant for the Bengalee Buddhists of Chittagong, while among the translations are those of the *Jātakas* by Ishan Chandra Ghosh, of the *Theragāthā* and *Therigāthā* by Bijay Chandra Majumdar, and of the *Suttanipāta* the *Udāna*, the *Majjhima Nikāya* and the *Dīgha Nikāya* by Bhikṣu Śīlabhadra of the Mahabodhi Society.

1875 was found inadequate and in 1902 Prof. T.W. Rhys Davids conceived the idea of compiling a dictionary on international basis. But it was not until 1916 that he set to work on this dictionary with the assistance of William Stede. Rhys Davids lived to see only the first three parts of this great project. His eminent colleague W. Stede compiled the work in 1925. It was followed by *Critical Pali Dictionary* by Dines Anderson and Helmer Smith, but they could publish only one volume in nine parts (1927-28). W. Geiger made immense contribution to the study of Pali language and literature by the publication of his *Pali Literature and Sprache* in 1916. It was translated into English by B.K. Ghosh under the title *Pali Literature and Language* (1943). G.P. Malalasekera's *Pali Literature of Ceylon* (1928) was in a sense epoch-making because it was not only an analysis of the historical and religious literature of Ceylon, but at the same time it formed the basis of the study of doctrinal developments of Buddhism. This was followed by his celebrated *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* (2 Vols. 1937-38). In 1929 was published Chizen Akanuma's *Comparative Catalogue of the Chinese Āgamas and the Pali Nikāyas*. B.C. Law's *History of Pali Literature* came out in two volumes in 1933 which contained an exhaustive analysis of the contents of the Pali texts, canonical and non-canonical, with a critical emphasis on the chronological questions. The publication of the *Pali-Tripiṭaka Concordance* prepared by scholars like Woodward and others and edited by E.M. Hare, which was brought out by the *PTS* in 1952-55 was one of the most important contributions to the cause of Pali study and research.

Chapter 9

Studies on Chinese and Tibetan Sources of Indian Buddhism

Modern study of Buddhism, as we have seen above, rested since its very inception upon corresponding studies of manuscripts at least in four languages—Sanskrit, Pali, Chinese and Tibetan. We have previously dealt with Sanskrit and Pali sources. Sanskrit studies were practically opened by B.H. Hodgson who collected numerous manuscripts from Nepal during the period between 1821 and 1843 and distributed them in the libraries of Calcutta, London and Paris. Hodgson also wrote papers connected with his collection.[1] It is interesting to note that in the 18th century and also in the first quarter of the 19th century when Buddhism was practically unknown in Europe, in Asia the study of Buddhism, with a critical approach and a kind of modern outlook, was introduced by the Japanese scholars Tominage Chuki (1715-45) and Jiun Sonja. The latter studied Sanskrit by himself in the pre-Meiji period, and having examined the fragmentary Sanskrit *MSS* of the Horiyuji and other monasteries and compared them with their Chinese versions, published the Sanskrit editions of a number of Sūtras and attempted to restore the Sanskrit text of the *Prajñā-naya* from its Chinese version.[2]

Since no complete canon of Sanskrit Buddhist works was found in India scholars had to depend on Tibetan and Chinese sources. We

[1] *Asiatic Researches*, XVI (1828); *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of London*, III (1892). His *Memoirs*, the first edition of which was published before 1837 was reprinted in 1874 under the title *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, His *Miscellaneous Essays on Indian Subjects* was reprinted in 1880.

[2] Some portions of Sonja's *Bongaku-shinryo*, collection of articles on Sanskrit study was published from Osaka in 1953 to commemorate the 150th anniversary of his death. The Sūtras, edited and published by him were *Sukhāvati-vyūha*, *Bhadracārināma-ārya-samantabhadra-praṇidhāna* and *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya*.

have already had the occasion to see how the study of Tibetology was initiated by Alexander Csome de Koros and followed by eminent scholars like Anton Schiefner, V.P. Vasilev, Ph.E. Foucaux, C.F. Köppen and others. There exists a large number of translation from Indian texts into the Chinese language. In his *Catalogue*, Bunyiu Nanjio records as many as 1662 texts which are classified into four divisions—Sūtra, Vinaya, Abhidharma and Miscellaneous. The *Hobogirin*, an encyclopaedic dictionary, mentions as many as 2,148 texts printed in 55 volumes of the Taisho edition. In another 25 volumes exist supplementary texts written in China and Japan. In Japan there are three complete translations of the Chinese Tripiṭaka including the supplementary 25 volumes of the Taisho edition of the Tripiṭaka. In the Manchurian language there is also a translation of the same, and in Mongolian, a translation of the Tibetan Tanjur. Besides, China being a Buddhist country, it had always maintained a tradition of preserving and printing the sacred texts of Buddhism. Thus, in the reign of the emperor Chien Lung (1735-1798), a Dragon edition of the Tripiṭaka was brought out.

Certain characteristics of the Chinese Tripiṭaka deserve mention. The Vinayas of the schools of the Sarvāstivadins, Dharmaguptakas, Mahīśāsakas and Mahāsaṅghikas are obtained in Chinese translations. In contents, especially so far as the Prātimokṣa section is concerned, a sort of agreement is found in all the texts. In the case of the Sūtra literature, the contents are more or less the same in the Pali Nikāyas and the Chinese Āgamas, but the order of arrangement is different. Excepting only three, all the Sūttas of the *Dīgha Nikāya* are found in the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* which also contains two additional Sūttas not found in the Pali recension. Among the 152 Sūttas of the *Majjhima Nikāya* only 19 are omitted in the Chinese *Madhyamāgama* which contains a few additional Sūtras from other Nikāyas. But the *Saṃyuktāgama* and the *Ekottarā-gama*, corresponding to the Pali *Saṃyutta Nikāya* and *Aṅguttara Nikāya* have much difference with their Pali counterpart in regard to both form and content. The existence of a fifth *Nikāya* is not acknowledged in the Sanskrit or Chinese tradition, although we have Chinese versions of a few texts belonging to the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. The divergence is more marked in the case of the Abhidharma texts.

In the modern sense, study of the Chinese sources was inaugurated with the publication of C.J. Neumann's work on the Buddhist pilgrims who came to India. This work under the title *Pilgerfahrten Buddhistischer Priester von China nach Indien, aus dem Chinesischen übersetzt* was published 1833. This was followed in 1836 by A. Remusat's translation of Fa-hien's account. In 1848 was published the French translation of the Mongol version of Kaśyapa Mataṅga's Sūtra by Gabet and Huc in *Journal Asiatique*. Complete works of Hiuen Tsang were translated into French in two volumes (1853, 1857-59) by St. Julien[1] who also made a translation of the Chinese version of a lost Sanskrit collection of the Avadānas in three volumes. Texts from the Chinese Buddhist canon were translated by S. Beal in a series of works done during the period between 1871 and 1878.[2] He also translated the Si-yu-ki (1885) and Hiuen Tsang's *Life* by Shaman Hwui Li (1888) from Chinese.[3] As early as in 1869 he published the accounts of the travels of Fa-hien and Sung Yun in his *Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims*. E. Chavannes published in 1894 *Memoire compose a l'epoque de la grande dynestic T' ang sur les Religieux Eminents qui allārent chercher a loi dans les pays d' Occident, Par I-tsing*, a summary of which is found in the introduction of Beal's *Life* mentioned above. J.H. Legge's account of Fa-hien's travels came out in 1896 while that of H.A. Giles in 1923.[4] I-tsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion practised in India and Malay Archipelago* was translated into English by J. Takakusu in 1896. In 1883 after the publication of Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka* studies in Chinese sources received a fresh momentum. T. Watter's translation of the account of the travels of Hiuen Tsang was published in two volumes in 1904-5.[5]

[1] *Memoires sur les contrees occidentales*, Paris, 1857-58.

[2] *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, London, 1872; *Buddhist Tripiṭaka as It is known to China and Japan*, being a catalogue and compendious report published in 1876. His *Adhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra* translated from Chinese was published in *JRAS*, 1873, pp. 227ff. His *Scriptural Texts from the Buddhist Canon known as Dharmapada* came out in 1878.

[3] *Buddhist Record of the Western World*, London, 1885 ; *Life of Hiuen Tsang by Shaman Hwui Li*, London, 1888.

[4] J. Legge, *Records of the Buddhist Kingdoms, being an Account of the Chinese Monk Fa-hien's Travels*, Oxford, 1892; H.A. Giles, *Travels of Fa-hien orRecord of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, Cambridge, 1923.

[5] T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, ed. T.W. Rhys Davids and S.W. Bushell, London, 1904-5. Mention should also be made here of T.M. Chau's *Hsuan Tsang: the Pilgrim and Scholar*, Vietnam Buddhist Institute, Nhatrang, 1963.

Japanese scholars contributed immensely to the study of Indian Buddhism and they worked specially on the Chinese sources. In 1885, K. Kasahara published a work entitled *Dharmasamgraha* which was an ancient collection of Buddhist technical terms. In 1900 Takakusu published *A Pali Chrestompathy with Chinese Equivalents* which was a significant contribution to comparative study. M. Anesaki published *Concordance of Pali Texts with their Chinese Version* in 1908. R. Kimura's *Studies of Abhidharma* came out in 1926. C. Anakuma published *The Comparative Catalogue of the Chinese Āgamas and Pali Nikāyas* in 1920 and *A Dictionary of Proper Names in Indian Buddhism* in 1930. In 1926 S. Levi came to Japan and led the foundation of a centre of Buddhist research which came to be known as Maison Franco Japanaise. Here he sponsored the project of compiling an encyclopaedic dictionary, the *Hobogirin*. His collaborators were Takakusu, Anesaki, Inoue, Suziyama and others. Its first three fascicules were published in 1929-31. D.T. Suzuki studied Mahāyāna Buddhism[1] and also Chinese philosophy and Zen Buddhism. In the field of bringing out critical editions of the texts the Japanese scholars did not lag behind. Mention may be made in this connection to Wogihara's *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (1936), *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (1932), *Abhisamayālaṅkāraloka* (1932-35), Yamaguchi's *Madhyāntavibhaṅgaṭīka*, Kondo's *Dasabhūmiśvara* (1936), etc.

Reference must also be made in this connection to the works on Buddhist bibliography, that of Hans Lüdwig Held *Deutsche Bibliographie des Buddhismus* 1916 and the *Bibliographie Bouddhique* which began to be published since 1928. A supplement of the Buddhist *MSS*, to the *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts* in the library of the India office, London, was made by F.W. Thomas (1935) and a *Dictionary* of the Chinese Buddhist terms was prepared by W.E. Soothill and L. Hodous (1937). *Table der Taisho-Issaikyo*, attached to the *Hobogirin* was edited by Demieville based upon which were published two kinds of Japanese translations, *Kokuyaku Issaiko* in 150 vols. and *Kokuyaku Daizokyo* in 28 vols. (1928-35). The bibliographical study on the Chinese version of the Tripiṭaka was crystalized in G. Ono's *Bussho Kaisetsu Daijisten* or the *Dictionary of*

[1] *Aśvaghoṣa's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* (1900), *Outline of Mahāyāna Buddhism* (1914), *Studies in Laṅkāvatāra Sutra* (1930). *The Gaṇḍavyūha*, ed. 1934-36, etc.

Buddhist Bibliography (12 vols. 1933-35). The Suzuki Research Foundation published in 1965 *A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tokyo University Library* compiled and edited by S. Matsunami. Of the Indian writers, the late P.C. Bagchi had given us a lexicography (*Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, 1929, 1937) of Sanskrit-Chinese terms. His *Canon Bouddhique in Chine* (1937-38) is a very valuable work containing highly useful information regarding Chinese translations of early Indian texts. Since 1945, P.C. Bagchi was in charge of the Sanskrit-Tibetan and Sanskrit-Chinese researches at the University of Viśvabhāratī. Several valuable papers and books appeared during his time in the literary organs of the Viśvabhāratī, the important ones being K. Venkataramanan's *Sāmmitīya Nikāya Śāstra* (Visvabharati Annals, V, 1953), Pa-chow's *Comparative Study of the Prātimokṣa* (Sino-Indian Cultural Society, 1955) etc., of which we have previously had the occasion of mentioning.

The distinct service of B.H. Hodgson in procuring Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal has already been mentioned. The fact was that after the extinction of Buddhism from India, only the Theravāda school was able to maintain its existence in Ceylon and in different countries of South East Asia. In China and the northern countries as well as in some countries of South East Asia the Mahāyāna form was continued. But while the Theravāda maintained its Indian tradition, retaining an Indian language, i.e., Pali, the Mahāyānists almost everywhere had adopted either the Chinese or the Tibetan as their canonical language and depended more on translations than on original sources written in Sanskrit. It was only in Nepal that the Indian Mahāyāna was able to continue its existence. But the Buddhists of Nepal under different historical conditions developed a leaning towards Tibet. Since, Tibet was the stronghold of Buddhism in the medieval period, they used to send their students to Tibet for training. As a result the original Sanskrit texts began to be treated with diminishing importance. These were not studied, preserved or copied. So very little of the vast wealth of Sanskrit Buddhist texts has come down to us from Nepal. It should be noted in this connection that in India the task of collecting manuscripts which were scattered in various libraries of Nepal was undertaken by Rajendralala Mitra (*Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, 1882) and Haraprasad Sastri.[1]

[1] *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscript belonging to the*

A few words about Tibetan studies may be said in this connection. So far as Buddhism is concerned, the Tanjur and Kanjur collections are the basic sources. Over 4,500 works of the Indian Buddhists, the Indian originals of which are largely lost, survive in meticulous Tibetan translation. These are contained in the great Tibetan collections called the Kanjur and the Tanjur, broadly meaning the collections of the words of the Buddha and of the expositary treatises by the Ācāryas. As early as in 1827 E. Burnouf had referred to the Tanjur and the Kanjur in a note on Tibetan literature which was the extract of an article published in a Calcutta journal.[1] In the thirties of the 19th century Alexander Csoma de Koros gave an introduction to these collections in his writings on Tibetology. In 1845, I.J. Schmidt brought out an index of the Kanjur collection under the title *Der Index des Kanjur* which was published from St. Petersburg.

It is interesting to note that the Tibetans themselves prepared numerous descriptive catalogues of these collections. Among such catalogues, those of the sNar-than and sDe-dge editions of Kanjur and of the Peking and Co-ne editions of Tanjur are most important. The Co-ne edition of the Tanjur Catalogue was compiled in 1773 by the second 'Jam-dbyans-bshad-pa. It is divided into six chapters, of which the first three form the general and the remaining three the special part. This work essentially is very close to the *chos' byuṅ-s* (histories of religion), but it contains not a survey of the canon in general, but a study of one specific edition of the canon along with the history of that edition. The introduction to the catalogue of the sDe-dge edition of the Kanjur contains extremely interesting historical information, in spite of the fact that this introduction is on the whole, more religious and philosophical in nature than historical. The publication of this edition was taken up in 1729 by the orders of the sDe-dge prince bsTan-pa-tshe-rin. This catalogue contains 171

Durbar Library, Nepal, I, 1905, II, 1915; *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Govt. Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, I, *Buddhist Manuscripts*, 1917; On a New Find of Old Nepalese *MSS.*, *JASB*, 1893. Discovery of a work by Āryadeva in Sanskrit *JASB*, 1898; On a MS. of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāp, discovered in Nepal *JASB*, 1899; A New MS. of Buddhacarita, *JASB*, 1909; Discovery of Abhisamayālaṅkāra *JASB*, 1910; MSS. of Catuḥśatika, *JASB*, 1911; Search for Sanskrit MSS., *JBORS*, 1915, etc.

[1]Sur la literature du Tibet: extrait du no. VII du Quarterly Oriental Mazazine de Calcutta in *Journal Asiatique*, X, 1827.

folios of large format. It is divided into five chapters dealing respectively with a survey of Buddhist doctrine, history of Buddhism in India and Tibet, facts about the sDe-dge prince who was the promoter of the project, the main portion or the catalogue itself and concluding remarks.

The sNar-than edition of Kanjur was brought out in 1730 by the order of the well-known regent of Tibet, Mi-dbaṅ Pho-lha-pa bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas. Apart from its supplements, it covers 124 folios of broad format. The catalogue is incomplete since its fourth or concluding portion and the colophon are wanting. No definite information is available on its author. Its first section states the necessity of the edition, the second with the deeds of the Buddha and the spread of Buddhism in India and Tibet, and third which is the largest gives the history of the formation of the Kanjur, facts about the promoter of this project, the history of the edition and information on the texts. The Peking edition of the Tanjur is of the nature of a real descriptive Catalogue in the modern sense.[1] It is the main source of P. Cordier's monumental work *Catalogue du fonds tibetain de la Bibliotheque Nationale, II eme-III eme parties: Index du bsTan-'gyur* (Paris, 1909-15). The date of the publication of the Peking edition of the Tanjur is AD 1724. This catalogue is in 145 folios and bears a long title which may thus be translated into English: Index of the translations of the Śāstras called 'the welfare of the three worlds, the sun that makes the lotus garden blossom.'

The Peking edition of the Tanjur, as catalogued by Cordier, has three main divisions—bsTod-tshogs (*stotra-gaṇa*) rGyud-'grel (*Tantra-vṛtti*) and mDo'grel (*Sutra-vṛtti*). Of these, the first has only one volume containing 64 *stotras*. The second has 86 volumes of which the 18th one is in two parts. The third contains 137 volumes. Cordier intended to make the Kanjur the first part of his *Catalogue*. But he took up the Tanjur first for the second and third parts of his *Catalogue*. He also expressed his intention of adding to his *Catalogue* a fourth part, containing the index of the persons and places without which, as he rightly felt, such a vast catalogue could not be easily used. But Cordier himself was prevented from completing his project

[1]This edition is generally referred to as the Peking edition. It is in other words, the same edition of the bsTan-'gyur (*Tanjur*) which along with bka'-'gyur (*Kanjur*), is published in Photo reproduction under the title *Tibetan-Tripiṭaka*, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1957-58.

because of his premature death only at the age of 44 in the first world war. After his death, his unfulfilled project of preparing an index to the *Catalogue* was taken up by M. Lalou whose *Repertoire du Tanjur d'apres le Catalogue de P. Cordier* came out as a Bibliotheque Nationale publication in 1933 from Paris. This index is divided into three main sections: index of titles—Sanskrit and Tibetan, index of names—Indian and Tibetan, and index of places—Indian and Tibetan.[1]

The so-called 'histories of religion or the doctrine' (*Chos-'byuṅ*) are very important Tibetan sources for the study of Indian Buddhism. The first work of this kind was written by Khu-ston brTson-'grus-gyuṅ-drun (1011-75). The *Chos-la-'jug-pa'i-sgo* (The Door Leading to the Faith) written by bSod-nams-rtse-mo in 1167 is an earlier comprehensive work in which, after the prefatory verses and a discussion on as to what the doctrine is and how to attain the main tenets of Buddhism, the author tells how salvation is attained by this doctrine and who expounded it. Thereafter he describes the twelve deeds of Buddha, the three Buddhist Councils, further development of Buddhism in India and the spread of Buddhism in Tibet. The work ends up with a chronological note on the period of the existence of Buddhism and concluding verses. In 'phags-pa-bla-ma-bLo-gros-rgyal-mtshan's (1235-80) encyclopaedic work entitled *Ses-bya-rab-gsal* we come across five chapters describing the inanimate world, the animate world, the path, the result and the unrevealed elements of existence. It also deals with the genealogy of the Mongolian Khans from Chinghiz to Kublai and his children. This work covering 35 folios was written in 1278 at the orders of Chingim, the son of Kublai.[2]

[1]In 1972 Alaka Chattopadhyaya published in English the first volume of her *Catalogue of Indian (Buddhist) Texts in Tibetan Translation : Kanjur and Tanjur*. This volume deals with Indian titles of the texts in Tanjur. The announced second and third volumes purport to deal with the authors (Indian titles) and the list of their works in Tanjur and texts (Indian titles) in Kanjur. This alphabetically re-arranged Catalogue of the Indian titles is a nice attempt to rearrange the essential information contained in P. Cordier's *Catalogue* and an improvement of M. Lalou's Index. Cordier's work is not easily available and moreover for its peculiar arrangement it looks cumbrous. It is also difficult to handle the book. The difficulty of Lalou is that he did not follow a uniform principle of arrangement. The result is a very considerable amount of duplicate entries, without there being a guide to identify the duplications. Chattopadhyaya's work is designed to serve the purpose of those students of Buddhism who do not know the Tibetan language.

[2]This work is available in the *Complete Works of* the Sa-skya-pa scholars-

Of greater importance is *bDe-par-gsegs-pa'i-bstan-pa'i-gsal-byed-chos-kyi-'byuṅ-gnas-gsuṅ-rab-rin-po-che'i-mdsod* (briefly *Chos-'byuṅ*) by the famous Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290-1364). This work containing 244 folios was written in 1322. It consists of four parts expounding successively the general introduction to the Buddhist creed, history of the appearance of Buddhism on earth and of its development in India, spread of Buddhism in Tibet, and a systematic catalogue of literature translated into Tibetan. This work of Bu-ston is a very important source of Buddhist history. As early as in 1838. Alexander Csoma de Koros referred to this book as a mine of information.[1] This work was used by V.P. Vasilev who was the first to make a critical evaluation of it.[2] Passages from this work were translated by Th. Stcherbatsky.[3] Sarat Chandra Das,[4] L. A. Waddell[5] Charles Bell'[6] *et al.* In 1931-32 was published a translation of Bu-ston's *History* made by E. Obermiller.

Among other works of the *chos-byuṅ* category we have several composite works like the Will Book (*bka'-chems-deb-ther*) attributed to Byaṅ-chub-rgyal-mtshan and the *Deb-ther-dmar-po* or *Red annals*. The latter exists in two versions: the original dated AD 1346 and the subsequent one dated AD 1538. In 1959 G. Tucci brought out a translation of the *Red Annals*. Another remarkable work is the so-called *Blue Annals* (*Deb-ther-snon-po*). The author of this work was Gos-lo-tsa-ba (1392-1481). The *Blue Annals* was thrice published in Xylograph. From this work as early as in 1836 J. Prinsep published a genealogical list of Tibetan kings.[7] V.P. Vasilev[8] recorded the importance of this work while Sarat Chandra Das utilised the *Blue Annals* in his 'Contribution on the Religion, History, etc., of Tibet.'[9] It was

Sa-skya-bka'-bum, XIII (pa), fols. 1-35.

[1]Enumeration of Historical and Grammatical Works to be met with in Tibet in *JASB*, 1838, p. 149.

[2]*Buddizm*, pt. III, pp. 5ff, 42-44, 58ff.

[3]Notes de litterature bouddhique in *Le Museon*, VI, 1905, pp. 144-155.

[4]In his "Indian Pandits in Tibet" (*JBTS*, 1893) Das has included a translation of Bu-ston's account of Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla.

[5]*JRAS*, 1909, p. 923; *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 166.

[6]*Religion of Tibet*, Oxford, 1931, pp. 200-201.

[7]'Useful Tables' in *JRAS*, 1836, pp. 131-32.

[8]On some books relating to the history of Buddhism in the library of the University of Kazan, 1855.

[9]*JASB*, 1881, pp. 82ff.

used by Charles Bell who also gave in his book its brief table of contents,[1] while G. Tucci published several passages from it.[2] Complete English translation of the *Blue Annals* was made by G. Roerich. It was published from Calcutta in two volumes in 1949-53. The first book of this text deals with the genealogy of the Buddha and his deeds, brief history of Buddhism in India, the genealogy of the Tibetan kings, history of the spread of Buddhism in Tibet, etc. In total there are fifteen books constituting the *Blue Annals*.

Of other Tibetan works of the type mentioned above we should refer to *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang* written in 1748 by Sumpa-mkhan-po. It is a big work containing 317 folios of large format. It consists of four parts. The first part contains a general introduction which narrates the history of Buddhism in India. The second part deals with the secular and ecclesiastical history of Tibet. The third part briefly deals with the history of China and of Buddhism in China. The fourth part is a short account of the history of the Mongols and of the history of the spread of Buddhism among them. It was Sarat Chandra Das who was responsible for introducting this great work to the world of scholarship. He published (Calcutta, 1908) the Tibetan text of its first and second parts (pt. I: History of the Rise, Progress and Downfall of Buddhism in India; Part II: History of Tibet from Early Times to AD 1745) and translated selected passages from it. The Tibetan text of the third part which deals with the history of Buddhism in China and Mongolia and the chronological tables were subsequently edited by Lokesh Chandra which came out in 1959.

It is not possible or essential to describe all the texts belonging to the *Chos-'byun* type. Therefore we shall conclude this chapter with a brief note or Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India*, the monumental work for the study of the history of Indian Buddhism, which has been referred to in many places of this book. Entitled *rGya-gar-chos-byun* (the main title being *dPal-gyi-'byun-gnas-dam-pa'i-chos-rin-po-che-'phags-yul-du-ji-ltar-dar-pa'i - tshul-gsal-bar-ston-pa-dgos-'dod-kun-'byuń*) this *History* was written by Tāranātha in 1608. It was first translated into Russian by V.P. Vasilev who already in 1866 presented his translation to the Academy of Sciences. By using this

[1]C. Bell, *The Religion of Tibet*, Oxford, 1931, pp. 201-07 and appendix.

[2]Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, II, *Rin chen bzan po ela rinascita del buddhismo intorno al mille*, Rome, 1933, pp. 77-84,

translation A. Schiefner brought out in 1868 an edition of its Tibetan text. In 1869 he translated it into German, most probably from Vasilev's Russian translation which was also published in the same year. Schiefner's German and Vasilev's Russian apart, the only complete translation of Tāranātha's *History* exists in the Japanese language which was done by Enga Teramoto (1928). The great Indian linguist Harinath De started translating Tāranātha's *History* directly from Tibetan into English, and a few pages of his translation appeared in a journal called *The Herald* (Jan., 1911). N. Dutt and U. N. Ghoshal translated portions of Tāranātha's *History* in the pages of *Indian Historical Quarterly*, but these were done from Schiefner's German rendering. In 1970 came out a fresh English translation of Tāranātha's *History*, translated directly from Tibetan by Lama Chimpa and Aloka Chattopadhyaya. It is free from the errors made by Schiefner and Vasilev in the previous translations. It follows mainly the Potala edition of 1946, but is thoroughly checked from the first letter-press edition of St. Petersburg which was originally published by Schiefner in 1868. In this translation Tāranātha's statements have been made more intelligible by annotating them extensively, and it contains elaborate footnotes showing resemblances with and differences from the readings and interpretations of Schiefner and Vasilev. This translation was edited by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya and published by Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla.

In 1922 M.V. Johan published his "Contribution to the Bibliography of Tibet."[1] In 1927 a survey of the unpublished Buddhist writings of V.P. Vasilev and V.V. Gorskii was made by M.I. Tubyanskii. In 1934, A.I. Vostrivov published *K. bibliografii tibetskoi literatury* (on a Bibliography of Tibetan Literature).[2] His greatest work *Tibetan Historical Literature* was complete in 1937, but owing to his premature death it could not be published. It was posthumously published in 1962 in the revived Bibliotheca Buddhica series being edited by G.M. Roerich. An English translation of this work made by H.C. Gupta came out from Calcutta in 1970. The volume is divided into five chapters—Earliest Historical Works of Tibet, Books from Buried Treasures, Main Types of Tibetan Historical Literature,

[1]*JASB*, NS, XVIII. An improvement of this work was made by A. I. Vostrikov in 1935: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VIII.

[2]*Bibliografiya Vostoka*, Nos. 2-4.

Historical-Bibliographical Survey of Tibetan Buddhist Canon and Historico-Geographical Literature. Historical and religious literature of Tibet has also been dealt with in G. Tucci's celebrated work *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome, 1949) especially in the chapter on chronicles (*chos-byuṅ*) and on the history of monasteries. Many catalogues of the Tibetan Xylography have also been published meanwhile like S. Yoshimura's *Denkar-ma, an Oldest Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon* (Kyoto, 1950), *A Catalogue of the Tohuku University Collection of Tibetan Works on Buddhism* (Sendai, 1953), Lokesh Chandra's *Tibetan Works Printed by the Shol-par-Khan of the Potale*, (New Delhi, 1959) etc. In 1971 appeared S.C. Chaudhuri's *Bibliography of Tibetan Studies*, which is a record of printed publication on Tibetology mainly in European languages. For the Tibetan Tripiṭaka attention may be drawn to the Peking edition, originally printed between 1763 and 1795 and reprinted by the Otani University, Kyoto, edited by Suzuki (1957). There are several other editions of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka and also numerous copies, especially in manuscript, of individual texts. The Snar-thaṅ (Nar Thang) edition of the Tripiṭaka is preserved in the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., the Bibliotheque Nationale and Musee Guimet in Paris, the Newbury Library in Chicago and other institutions.

The Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology, founded at Gangtok in 1957, published a number of important Tibetan works. Its publication programme started with the Sanskrit-Tibetan prayer book *Praṇidhānarāja* (1961), and since then it has published *The Red Annals* (1961), *Bhadracāri* (1961 with Indian text in Devanagari script and translation in Tibetan script based on a Xylograph from Nepal), *Prajñā* (1961, Sanskrit-Tibetan Thesaurus-cum-Grammar compiled by Tenzing Gyaltsen in 1971), *Rgyan Drug Mchog Gnyis* (1962, Six Ornaments and Two Excellents on Mahāyāna philosophy, see ch. on Art and Iconography), *Vimśatika Vijñaptimātratā Siddhi* of Vasubandhu (1964, consisting of two parts, *Kārikā* and *Vṛtti*, rendered into Tibetan by Jinamitra and Śilendrabodhi), and a few other works mentioned in the chapter on Tantric Buddhism. In 1976 it proposed a major project of the photo-mechanic transfer of the voluminous work *Rinchen Terzod* (61 Vols. and over 50,000 pages). Reprint of five volumes, including the index volume has already been done. Besides this *Rinchen Terzod* (Palpung, Kham edition, the institute has the collections of Kanjur (Derge and Sho editions) and Tanjur (Derge edition).

Chapter 10

Epigraphical and Archaeological Studies

In 1834, James Prinsep deciphered the Aśokan inscriptions which had marked the beginnings of the studies in Indian palaeography and epigraphy. The Aśokan inscriptions are of great importance to the study of Buddhism since they speak of a popular form of this system. These inscriptions were first studied by Burnouf who found in them considerable number of words and expressions which were supposed to belong to the earlier and unsophisticated aspects of Buddhism.[1] Burnouf's work was continued by H. Kern who published a monograph in 1873 under the title 'On the Chronology of the Southern Buddhists and the Monuments of Aśoka, the Buddhist.'[2] In 1877 Alexander Cunningham published the first volume of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* from Calcutta which contained the texts and translations of the inscriptions of Aśoka along with some of their photographs. This work was criticised by Senart in 1879, who subsequently prepared a new edition in two volumes (1881-86) under the title *Les inscriptions de Piyadasi* based upon his articles previously published in the *JA*,.[3] Aśokan inscriptions were studied and edited by G. Bühler during the eighties and nineties of the last century.[4] Subsequently much work was done on the inscriptions of Aśoka,[5]

[1]App. X of Burnouf's *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 652ff. contains examination and interpretation of Aśoka's inscriptions.

[2]*Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten en de Gedenkstukken van Acoka den Buddhist*, Amsterdam, 1873. A long review of this work was published by A. Barth in *Oeuvres*, III, 1917, pp. 131-139.

[3]Senart also wrote a long note on the inscriptions of Aśoka and their Buddhist contents in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, tome 92, 1889, pp. 67-108.

[4]Besides his edited inscriptions in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1890ff, his *Erklärung der Aśoka-Inscription*, *ZDMG*, 1883, 1887 is a significant contribution. Also see his 'Votive Inscriptions from the Sanchi Stūpas,' *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 87ff., 366ff.

[5]cf. R.V. Sharma, *Piyadasi Inscriptions with Sanskrit and English Trans. and various Recensions and Notes*, Muradpur, 1915; D.R. Bhandarkar and

and the earlier *Corpus* of Cunningham was revised and re-edited by E. Hultzsch which was published in 1925. For many years this volume has remained as a standard edition for the Aśokan inscriptions.[1]

The Annual Reports of the *ASI*, which began to be published by Cunningham since 1871 contained materials for Buddhist archaeology. James Burgess who succeeded Cunningham in 1885 as the Director General *ASI*, began to publish *Epigraphia Indica* from 1892 onwards. This journal as well as the *Indian Antiquary* contributed immensely to the development of epigraphic studies in India. In 1883 Burgess himself published a book under the title *The Buddhist Caves and Inscriptions*. Since then the Prakrit inscriptions found in different Buddhist caves of Western India began to draw attention of the scholars. In 1910, H. Lüders published *A List of Brahmi Inscriptions from the Earliest Times of about 400* AD which appeared as an appendix of the tenth volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*. The Buddhist contents of this *List* will be described in a subsequent paragraph. The Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan in 1901, 1906-07, and 1913-16 were edited and published by E.M. Boyer and E. J. Rapson under the general editorship of E. Senart (Oxford 1920-29).[2] B. M. Barua and G. Sinha published *Bharhut Inscriptions* in 1928. Prakrit inscriptions from the Buddhist sites of Nagarjunikonda were studied by J.Ph. Vogel.[3] In 1929 was published the second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* which was edited by Sten Konow. Its first part of this *Corpus* deals with the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions excepting those of Aśoka. N.G. Majumdar also published a list of Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions.[4] All these publications facilitated to the development of Buddhist epigraphical studies which has helped us to the proper understanding of the history of Buddhism in India, especially to that of the geographical

S.N. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Calcutta, 1920; etc. For a list of such works see M.A. Mahendale, *Aśokan Inscriptions in India*, Bombay, 1948.

[1]A fresh edition of this *Corpus* on the basis of new discoveries and interpretations is now being prepared by K.R. Norman.

[2]Part I, *Text of Inscriptions discovered at the Niya Site 1901*; Part II, *Text of Inscriptions discovered at the Niya, Endere and Lou-lan Sites 1906-7*; part III, *Text of Inscriptions discovered at Niya and Lou-lan sites 1913-16.*

[3]*Epigraphia Indica*, XX, pp. 1-37.

[4]*JRASB*, XX, pp. 1-39.

distribution of different Buddhist schools.

From Lüders' *List* we come across the geographical distribution of the *Mahāsaṅghikas* (No. 1115, Karle Cave of the year 18 of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi; No. 1106, Karle Cave of the year 24 of Vāsiṣṭīputra Pulomā), the Aparaseliyas (No. 1020, Kanheri cave),[1] the *Rājagirinivāsikas* (No. 1250, Amaravati), the *Caityakas* or *Śailas* (No. 1248, Inscribed stone of Amaravati of the reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulomā; No. 1223 Sculpture of Amaravati; No. 1263, Sculpture of Amaravati; No. 1250, do; No. 1272, do; No. 1244, Pillar of Amaravati; No. 1270, do; No. 1230, do; No. 1130, Nasik Cave; No. 1171, Junnar Cave), the *Haimavatas* (No. 156, Crystal Casket of Sonāri Stūpa, 2nd cent. BC; No. 158, Steatite Casket of Sonāri Stupa II, 2nd cent. BC; No. 655, Steatite Casket of Sanci Stūpa, 2nd cent. BC), the *Sarvāstivādins* (Nos. 918-19, Statue of Kāman; No. 929, Balustrade of Sarnath; No. 125, Statue of Mathura), the *Kāśyapīyas* (No. 904, Buddhist Cave of Pabhosā of the year 10; No. 1106, Karle Cave of the year 24 of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulomā), the *Vātsiputrīyas* (No. 923, Buddhist Pillar of Sarnath, 4th cent. AD), the *Sautrāntikas* (No. 797, Pillar of Bharhut of the Śuṅga Period; No. 635, Sanchi of the Śuṅga Period; Nos. 319, 352, Sanchi of the Śuṇga Period), the *Dharmottarīyas* (Nos. 1094-95, gift of two pillars to Dharmottarīya school of Surpāraka, without date; No. 1152, Junnar Cave without date), the *Bhadrayānīyas* (No. 987, Kanheri Cave of the reign of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi. No. 1018, Kanheri Cave without date; No. 1123, Nasik Cave of the year 10 of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulomā; No. 1124, Nasik Cave of the years 19 and 22 of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulomā) and the *Sammitīyas* (No. 923, Buddhist Pillar of Sarnath of the Gupta epoch).

Likewise from Konow's *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions* the geographical distribution of the *Mahāsaṅghikas* (Lion Capital of Mathura, 1st. cent. AD; Wardak Vase of the year 51 of Kaṇiṣka), the *Sarvāstivadins* (Mathura Lion Capital; Shah-ji-ki-Dheri shrine of Kaṇiṣka; Zeda Pillar of Kaṇiṣka; Copper Stūpa of Kurram; Inscribed potsherd of Dheri without date); the *Kāśyapīyas* (Inscribed pottery of Takht-i-Bahi; Copper ladle of Taxila; copper ladle of Bedadi in the kingdom of Urasa; Jug of Pālatu Dheri) and the *Bahuśrutīyas* (Jug of Pālatu Dheri) is clearly understood. Inscriptions from Nagarjunikonda[2]

[1]cf. *IHQ*, XVIII, 1942, p. 60.

[2]*EI*, XX, pp. 1-37.

are especially important since they give information on the *Tāmraparṇakas*, i.e., Simhalese Theravāda (Temple of Nagarjunikonda of the year 14 of Māthariputra Vīrapuruṣadatta of the Ikṣvāku dynasty), the *Mahīśāsakas* (Pillar of the year 11 of Ehuvula Śāntamūla II of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, 3rd cen. AD), the *Bahuśrutīyas* (Pillar of the reign of Māthariputra Vīrapuruṣadatta; Pillar of the year 2 of Ehuvula Śāntamūla II)[1] the *Aparaśailas* (Pillar of the year 6 of Māṭhariputra Vīrapuruṣadatta; Temple, of the year 18 of the same king)[2] and the *Mahāsaṅghikas* (Pillars of the year 6 of the same king).[3] The *Pūrvaśailas* are mentioned in the pillar with *dharmacakra* of Dharaṇikoṭa probably belonging to the period of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulomā and in the Alluru inscription (Krishna District), while the *Aparaśailas* are mentioned on a slab of Ghaṇṭaśālā.[4] An epigraphic mention of the *Mahīśāsakas* is found on a pillar of Kura at Salt Range belonging to the reign of Toramāna (5th. cent. AD).[5]

Study in Buddhist archaeology derived its main impulses from the labour of Sir Alexander Cunningham. As early as in 1837, when he was simply a bodyguard of Lord Auckland, then Governor General, Cunningham excavated Sarnath at his own expense and responsibility and made drawings of the objects found therein. In 1850 while he was an engineer in the state of Gwalior, he excavated Sanchi and a few other Buddhist Stūpas of Central India. The account of his excavations was published in the journal of the *RAS*, London, and in 1854 he published the results of his excavations in a book form under the title, *The Bhilsa Topes or Buddhist Monuments of Central India*, comprising a brief historical sketch of the rise, progress and decline of Buddhism. From 1861 to 1865 he acted as the Archaeological-Surveyor and from 1871 to 1885 as the Director of Archaeological Survey. He travelled extensively and discovered numerous sites and the results were published in 24 volumes as *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*. Thirteen volumes were written by Cunningham himself and rest by his assistants, J.D. Beglar and A.C.L. Carlleyle, under his supervision and guidance. In 1871 was published his *Ancient Geography of India* in which he made an

[1] *EI*, XXI, p. 62.
[2] *EI*, XXIV, p. 259.
[3] *ASIAR*, 1923-24, p. 93.
[4] *EI*, XXVII, p. 4.
[5] *EI*, I, p. 238.

attempt to identify the ancient sites of India on the basis of the accounts of Alexander's historians and the travel-reports of the Chinese pilgrims. Reference has already been made to his *Corpus of Aśokan inscriptions* published in 1877. In 1879 he published *The Stūpa at Bharhut* and in 1892 *Mahābodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple under the Bodhi Tree at Bauddha Gaya* with 31 illustrations. It was only through the efforts of Cunningham that the Buddhist sites of Bodhgaya, Sarnath, Sravasti, Sanchi, Mathura, Kosambi, etc., came to be known in public.

Like Cunningham, James Fergusson who was personally a dealer in indigo, was attracted to the study of Indian architecture and published as early as in 1845 (and also in 1864) *Illustrations of the Rock-cut Temples of India*. His *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* came out in 1885. In collaboration with J. Burgess he published the *Cave Temples of India* in 1880.[1] Although the book was principally intended to illustrate the splendid series of caves in Western India, it also includes for a better understanding of the cave architecture of India, the early rock-cut caves in Eastern India and the monoliths in the South. Thus in this work have been described and discussed not only the origin of the rock-cut architecture, but also its evolution. In Part One, Fergusson deals with the earliest group of rock-cut caves at Barabar and Rajgir in Bihar, followed by the Orissa caves, Undavalli caves near Vijayawada and the later groups at Mahavalipuram. In Part Two, the cave temples of Western India have been dealt with by Burgess. On the basis of their chronology and sectarian association, he has dealt with all the Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain cave temples. The method followed is a critical survey of the whole series and a careful comparison of one cave with another. James Burgess succeeded Cunningham as the Director General of the Archaeological Survey in 1886. He made Western and Southern India the area of his special study. His reports on the antiquities of the Belgaum and Kaladi Districts, Kathiawar and Kutch and the Bidar and Aurangabad Districts were published between 1874 and 1876. He wrote separate monographs on the Buddhist Stupas at Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta (1887) and also on the cave temples of

[1] Fergusson's two important articles should be noted: Age of Indian Caves and Temples, *Ind. Ant.*, 1872, pp. 257ff. On the Rock Temples of India, *JRAS*, 1896, pp. 30-92.

Ellora (1882-83). Reference has already been made to his *Buddhist Cave Temples and Their Inscriptions* (1883).[1]

The Central Indian Buddhist sites, mainly those of Sanchi, Bharhut, Bagh, Sirpur and Dhamnar had attracted a host of scholars. We have previously had the occasion to refer to Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes* (1854) and *The Stūpa of Bharhut* (1879). In 1870 S. Beal published an interesting article on Sanchi.[2] Votive inscriptions from the Sanchi Stūpa were studied and translated by Bühler.[3] F.C. Maisey's *Sanchi and Its Remains* was published from London in 1894. In the beginning of the present century Sir John Marshall took up the study of Sanchi again and published in 1913 the results of subsequent explorations.[4] In 1918 he also published *A guide to Sanchi* which had undergone several reprints. In 1919 R. P. Chanda published the result of his study on the dates of the votive inscriptions on the Stūpas at Sanchi.[5] A comprehensive work in three volumes under the title *The Monuments of Sanchi* written by J. Marshall, A. Foucher and N.G. Majumdar was published from Delhi in 1940. In the same year was published M. Hamid's *Excavations at Sanchi*.[6] Works on Bharhut are comparatively few, because nothing of the main Stūpa is visible at present. Stone materials of Bharhut were taken away by villagers of the adjacent areas, and these were used for making plinths of their houses. The remains were mostly removed to Calcutta by Cunningham and kept in Indian Museum. A few fragmentary pieces were later recovered and sent to the Allahabad Museum. On the basis of these stray things, especially those belonging to the Indian Museum, B.M. Barua made a comprehensive work in three volumes, published in 1934 (I and II) and 1837 (III) under the title *Bharhut* S. C. Kala's *Bharhut-Vedikā* was published from Allahabad in 1951. The *Bharhut Inscriptions* forming the 2nd part of the second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* came out from Ootacamund in 1963 being

[1]It was published as the fourth volume of the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, prepared under his supervision in 12 volumes (1874-91). *Archaeological Survey of Southern India* in 10 volumes were also published under his supervision between 1884 and 1903.

[2]Some Remarks on the Great Tope at Sanchi, *JRAS*, 1916.

[3]*EI*, II, p. 87ff. 366ff.

[4]The monuments of Sanchi in *ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 1ff.

[5]*Memoirs of the ASI*, No. 1, Calcutta, 1919.

[6]*ASIAR*, 1936-37, Delhi, 1940, pp. 84ff.

edited H. Lüders, E. Waldschmidt and M. A. Mehendale. In 1908, H. Cousens published an article on the Dhamnar caves.[1] In 1911 A. K. Haldar published in *Burlington Magazine* his study on the Caves of Bagh. In 1927 a combined work by J. Marshall, M. B. Garde, J. Ph. Vogel, E. B. Havell and J. H. Cousens was published under the title *The Bagh Caves in the Gwalior State*.

In 1933 was published R. S. Wauchope's *Buddhist Cave Temples of India*. Self-explanatory as the title of the book is, it gives a general idea of the better known cave temples. Especially rich in this field is Maharashtra where we come across such well-known sites as Bhaja, Bedsa, Karle, Junnar, Kondane, Kondivte, Kanheri, Nasik, Pitalkhora, Ajanta, Aurangabad, Ellora, Sopara, etc. As early as in 1878 Burgess published a report on the antiquities of Bidar and Aurangabad and his report on the Ellora caves was published in 1883. In 1879 he published Notes on the Bauddha Rock-temples of Ajanta, their paintings and sculptures in the ninth volume of his Archaeological Survey of Western India mentioned above. In 1882 Bhagwanlal Indraji published an informative article 'Antiquarian Remains at Sopara and Padana,'[2] which came out separately in a book form in 1883. Reference has already been made to his epigraphical studies in collaboration with Burgess published in the tenth volume (1881) of the Archaeological Survey of Western India under the title *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western* India. In 1896 was published John Griffith's *Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta* in two volumes.[3] Among subsequent works in this field mention should be made of M.C. Dey's *My Pilgrimage to Ajanta and Bagh* (London, 1925), G. Yazdani's *Rock-hewn Temples of Aurangabad: Their Sculpture and Architecture* (1937)[4] and *Ajanta* in four parts (London 1930, 33, 46, 55), K.N. Dikshit's *Buddhist Relics from Sopara Re-examined* (1939),[5] D. Barrett's *Guide to the Buddhist Caves of Aurangabad* and *Guide to Karla Caves* (Bombay, 1957), R. Sengupta's *Guide to the Buddhist Caves of Elura* (Bombay 1958),

[1]*ASIAR*, 1905-6, Calcutta, 1908, pp. 107-15.

[2]*JBBRAS*, XV, 1882, pp. 273-315.

[3]His studies on Ajanta frescoes were published in *Ind. Ant.*, I (1872), pp. 354ff.; II, pp. 153; III, pp. 25-28, 269ff; IV, pp. 252, 339; *JRAS*, XI, 1879, pp. 166-68. *Arch. Sur. W. Ind.*, no. 9, *JASB*, V, pp. 557-62.

[4]*Indian Arts and Letters*, XI, 1937, pp. 1-10.

[5]*Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, I, 1939, pp. 1-5.

M.N. Despande's *Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan* (1959),[1] W. Willetts' *Excavations at Pitalkhora* (1961),[2] R.S. Gupte and B.D. Mahajan's *Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad Caves* (Bombay 1962), V. Gupchup's *Kondane* (1963),[3] A. Ghosh (*et al.*), *Ajanta Murals* (New Delhi, 1967), etc.

North Western India and its adjoining regions to the West attracted greater attention of the European scholars of the last century. The reason was the so-called Gandhāra sculpture. Early European scholars, mostly the art-historians, especially insisted on the Hellenistic influence on the sculpture and architecture of this region. Details about their views will be stated in the next chapter along with the vast bibliography on the question of Hellenistic origins. As regards the important Buddhist sites of the North West reference should be made to Shah-ji-ki-dheri, Peshwar, Takht-i-Bahi, Sahri-bahlol, Jamalgarhi, Taxila, Manikyala. A few sites of Sind like Mirpur-khas, Saidpur, etc., should also be mentioned in this connection. As early as in 1879 W. Simson made a general observation on the Buddhist architecture of Jalalabad and the Buddhist caves of Afganistan.[4] In 1883 H. H. Cole submitted a memorandum on the ancient monuments in Eusufzai. In 1886 M.G. Talbot wrote on the rock-caves and statues at Bamian.[5] Systematic exploration and excavations in these regions began to take place from the beginning of the twentieth century. Sir Aurel Stein who later took a prominent part in the excavations at Sahri-bahlol,[6] wrote an introductory article on the archaeological discoveries in the Hindukush region.[7] Excavations at Sahri-bahlol and Takht-i-Bahi were carried out by D.B. Spooner in the first decade of the present century.[8] Shah-ji-ki-dheri, Takht-i-Bahi and Jamalgarhi were excavated in the twenties by H. Hargreaves.[9] The report on the excavations at Charsada and the Frontier

[1] *Ancient India*, No. 15, 1959, pp. 66-92.
[2] *Oriental Art*, NS, 1961, pp. 59-65.
[3] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, NS, XXXVIII, 1963, pp. 174-84.
[4] *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Archaeology*, 1879-80, pp. 37-64; *JRAS*, NS, XIV, pp. 319-31.
[5] *JRAS*, 1886, pp. 323ff.
[6] *ASIAR*, 1911-12, Calcutta, 1915, pp. 95-119.
[7] *JRAS*, 31, pp. 363ff.
[8] *ASIAR*, 1906-07, Calcutta, 1909, pp. 102-8; 1909-1910, 1914, pp. 46-62: 1907-1908, 1911, pp. 132-48.
[9] *ASIAR*, 1910-14, Calcutta, 1914, pp. 25-39; 1920-21, Simla, 1924, pp. 54-62.

Province made by Marshall and Vogel was published in 1904.[1] The results of Marshall's own excavations at Taxila were published in the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India of 1912-13, 1914-15, and 1915-16. His *Guide to Taxila* was first published from Delhi in 1936 and his bigger work on Taxila in three volumes came out from Cambridge in 1951. Shaikhan Dheri was excavated in the 1960s by A.H. Dani.[2] H. Cousens explored the sites of Brahmanabad-Mansura in Sind, the report of which was published in the Annual Report of the ASI for 1903-4. He also published a highly informative article on the Buddhist Stūpas at Mirpur Khas in 1914.[3] Results of the excavation near Mirpur Khas were reported in 1917 by D.R. Bhandarkar[4] who also published a documentary note on the Buddhist Stūpa at Saidpur in Sind.[5]

Reference has already been made to the report of James Burgess on the antiquities of Kathiawar and Kutch published in 1876 in the second volume of the Archaeological Survey of Western India. Among the important Buddhist sites of Gujarat, Devnimori, Sana and Talaja have now attracted special attention of the archaeologists. Reference should be made in this connection R. N. Mehta and S. N. Chowdhary's *Excavations at Devnimori* published from Baroda in 1966. The Buddhist sites of Gujarat and the sphere of Buddhist influence on this region had previously been described by A. S. Gadre and M.G. Dikshit.[6] The Buddhist association of Amreli in the early Gupta period is suggested by archaeological excavations.[7] In Rajasthan, the archaeologists located a Buddhist site near Chitorgarh as early as in 1904.[8] An inscribed slab by the side of the Barkhari gate of the town Shergarh, District Kota, records the construction of a Buddhist temple and monastery.[9] Two of the edicts of Aśoka were found at Bairat in Jaipur District. At Lal Sote in the same district have been found railing pillars of typically Buddhist crafts-

[1] *ASIAR*, 1902-03, Calcutta, 1904, pp. 141-84.
[2] *Ancient Pakistan*, II, 1965-66, pp. 17ff.
[3] *ASIAR*, 1909-10, Calcutta, 1914, pp. 80-92.
[4] *Progress Report of the ASI, Western Circle*, 1917, pp. 47ff.
[5] *ASIAR*, 1914-15, Calcutta, 1920, pp. 89-96.
[6] *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, I, 1939, pp. 61ff; VIII, 1946, p. 1ff.
[7] S.R. Rao, *Excavations at Amreli*, Baroda, 1966, p. 98.
[8] *Progress Report of the ASI*, WC, 1904, p. 45.
[9] *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, 1885, pp. 45-48.

manship.[1] Reference may be made in this connection to D.R. Sahni's *Archaeological Remains and Excavations in Bairat* which was published from Jaipur in 1937. In the Annual Report of ASI for 1935-36 he had also given the results of Bairat excavations. Recent explorations have discovered Buddhist settlements on the hills of Kolvi Binnayaga and Hathiagor, all in the extreme south of the District of Jhalawar. Kashmirian sites had been mentioned by R.C. Kak in his *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (London, 1933). The more important Buddhist sites of Kashmir are Pandrethan, Harwan, Ushkura, Paraspora, Malangpur and Gilgit on which modern archaeologists are paying greater attention.

The Southern Buddhist sites are Amaravati, Nagarjunikonda, Goli, Jaggayyapeta, Gummadidurru, Alluru, Bhattiprolu Ghantasala, Gudivada, Guntupalli, Sankaram, Ramatritham, Salihundam, Kanchipuram and Nagapattinam. As early as in 1868, J. Fergusson gave a vivid description of the Amaravati Stūpa.[2] Burgess published his notes on Amaravati Stūpa in the third volume of the Archaeological Survey of South India (Madras, 1882). His separate report on the Buddhist Stūpas at Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta was published from London in 1887. In the same year was published R. Sewell's report on Amaravati and also his 'Buddhist Remains in Guntupalle'.[3] In 1894, A Re-published from Madras *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities* which included the Stūpas of Bhattiprolu, Gudivada and Ghantasala. Subsequently he published his reports of the excavations at Amaravati,[4] Sankaram hills,[5] and Ramatirtham.[6] In 1915, T.A. Gopinath Rao wrote on the Buddhist vestiges in Kanchipura.[7] Report on the Buddhist remains at Salihundam was published by A.H. Longhurst (1918-20)[8] who subsequently published reports on

[1]R.C. Agarwala in *Lalit Kala*, No. 11, 1962, pp. 60ff.
[2]Description of the Amaravati Tope at Gantur, *JRAS*, III, 1868.
[3]*JRAS*, XIX, 1887, pp. 508-11.
[4]*ASIAR*, 1905-6, Calcutta, 1909, pp. 116-19, 1908-9; 1912, pp. 88-91.
[5]*ASIAR*, 1907-8, Calcutta, 1911, pp. 149-80. *Progress Rep. A.S. Dept. Southern Circle*, 1907-8, pp. 2ff; 1908-9, pp. 1-10; 1910-11, pp. 17ff.
[6]*ASIAR*, 1910-11, Calcutta, 1914, pp. 78-88; Progress Rep., loc. cit., 1908-9, pp. 10-11; 1909-10, pp. 20-21; 1910-11, pp. 13-15.
[7]*Ind. Ant.*, XLIV, 1915, pp. 127ff.
[8]*Annual Rep. A.S. Dept. Southern Circle*, 1918-20, pp. 34-38.

Nagarjunikonda excavations (1927-30)[1] and also a separate monograph on Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunikonda (1938).[2] Marshall's Director General's report on explorations at Ghantasala and Salihundam was published in 1922.[3] Report of the trial excavations at Allaru, Gummadidurru and Nagarjunikonda (1926-27) was published by M. H. Kuraishi,[4] while that at Nagarjunikonda conducted in the early thirties by C. L. Fabri.[5] K.R. Subramanian's *Buddhist Remains in Andhra* was published from Madras in 1932, while T. N. Ramachandran's monograph *Nagarjunikonda 38* was published at a much later date as the 71st Memoir of the ASI. Among subsequent works in this field mention should be made of Devala Mitra's observations on the Buddhist remains at Jaggayyapata (1959),[6] H. Sarkar's 'Some Aspects of the Buddhist Monuments at Nagarjunikonda'[7] R. Subrahmanyam's *Salihundun, A Buddhist Site in Andhra Pradesh*,[8] H. Sarkar and B. N. Misra's *Nagarjunikonda*, (New Delhi, 1966) etc.

In North India, especially in Uttar Pradesh, Nepalese Tarai and Bihar the important Buddhist sites are Lumbini, Sarnath, Sravasti, Kusinagar, Kausambi, Bodh-Gaya, Rajgir, Vaisali, Piprahwa, Lauriya-Nandangarh, Nalanda and Kurkihar. As early as in 1872 A.M. Broadley wrote a monograph under the title *Ruins of the Nalanda Monasteries at Burgaon*. Cunningham's famous work on Bodh Gaya under the title *Mahabodhi* was published in 1878 which was followed by R.L. Mitra's *Bodh-Gaya* (Calcutta, 1882). V.A. Smith and W.C. Peppe wrote on the Stūpa at Piprahwa, (1898), the suggested site of Buddha's Kapilvastu.[9] The question of the identification of Kapilvastu, the original home of Buddha, had given rise to much controversy among the scholars. Previously Lassen, Cunningham and Carlyle identified this place with some sites in the districts of Gorakhpur and Basti. Subsequently with the discovery of two fragments of

[1]*ASIAR*, 1927-28, pp. 113-21; 1928-29, pp. 100-04; 1929-30, pp. 144-51.
[2]*MASI*, 54, 1938.
[3]*Annual Rep. of the DG, ASI*, Calcutta, 1922, pp. 28ff.
[4]*ASIAR*, 1926-27, pp. 150-61, 189-90.
[5]*ASIAR*, 1930-34, pp. 107-111.
[6]*IHQ*, XXXV, 1959, pp. 274ff.
[7]*Ancient India*, No. 16, 1960; New Delhi, 1962.
[8]Andhra Pradesh Govt. Arch Series 17, Hyderabad, 1964.
[9]*JRAS*, 1898, pp. 573-88.

an inscribed pillar near Taulihawa in Nepalese Tarai, the lower portion of an Aśokan pillar and a Stūpa at Gotihawa, about 3 miles to the south west of Taulihawa, a pillar with the record of Aśoka at Lumbini (about 15 miles to the South East of Taulihawa) and a Stūpa with precious deposits at Piprahwa in the Basti district, U.P. (nor far from Lumbini) the question of the identification of Kapilavastu was viewed in a positive angle. In 1897, A. Fuhrer attributed an extensive region comprising the aforesaid and adjoining sites to Kapilavastu.[1] In 1901, P.C. Mukherji declared Tilaura-kot (modern township of Taulihawa) as Kapilavastu.[2] V.A. Smith pointed out that the remains of Piprahwa was shown to Fa-hien as Kapilavastu by his guides while the fortified mound of Tilaura-kot was shown to Hiuen Tsang as Kapilavastu. T.W. Rhys Davids took Tilaura-kot and Piprahwa to be the old and new cities of Kapilavastu. Subsequent discoveries and circumstantial evidences show that Piprahwa has a more reasonable claim for being the original site of Kapilavastu or a part of it.[3]

In the first decade of the present century archaeological excavations were made at Pataliputra,[4] Karia,[5] Sarnath,[6] Rajgir,[7] Sāhet-Māhet,[8] Lauriya[9] and Bodh-Gaya.[10] Further excavations at these sites and also at new sites were carried out between 1910 and 1920, the

[1]A. Fuhrer, *Monograph on Buddha Sakyamuni's Birthplace in the Nepalese Tarai*, Allahabad, 1897, p. 441.

[2]P.C. Mukherji, *A Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal*, ASI, Imp. Series, XXVI, Calcutta, 1901.

[3]For details see Debala Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, pp. 247-53.

[4]L.A. Waddell, *Report on the Excavations at Pataliputra*, Calcutta, 1903.

[5]J. Ph. Vogel, Excavations at Kasia, *ASIAR*, 1904-5, pp. 43-58; 1905-6, pp. 61-85; 1906-07, pp. 47-67.

[6]F.O. Oertel, Excavation at Sarnath, *ASIAR*, 1904-05, pp. 59-104; J. Marshall and Sten Konow, Excavation at Sarnath, *ASIAR*, 1906-07, pp. 68-101, 1907-8, pp. 43-80.

[7]J. Marshall, Rajagriha and Its Remains *ASIAR*, 1905-6, pp. 86-106; T. Bloch, Excavations at Rajgir, *ASIAR*, 1905-6, pp. 13ff.

[8]J. Ph. Vogel, Excavations at Sāhet-Māhet, *ASIAR*, 1907-8, pp. 81-131; J. Marshall, Excavations at Sāhet-Māhet, *ASIAR*, 1910-11, pp. 1-24.

[9]T. Bloch, Excavations at Lauriya, *ASIAR*, 1905-6, pp. 11-15; 1906-7, pp. 119-26; J. Marshall (Burial Mounds), *ASIAR*, 1904-05, pp. 38-40.

[10]T. Bloch, Notes on Bodh Gaya, *ASIAR*, 1908-09, pp. 139-58.

sites being Pāṭaliputra,[1] Basarh,[2] Rajgir,[3] Sarnath,[4] Bhita,[5] Kasia[6] and Nalanda.[7] The process continued in the subsequent decades, with greater emphasis on Nalanda,[8] Sarnath,[9] Lauriya,[10] and Rajgir.[11] The discoveries from all these sites consisted not only of the structures of the ruined Buddhist establishments but also of articles relating to the creed. The vast mass of sculptural finds in stone and metal contributed a great deal to the understanding of the history of Buddhism in this region. The images of the Buddhist deities found from Nalanda, Kurkikar, Bodh-Gaya and adjacent sites bore unmistakable traces of the rise of Tantric or Vajrayāna Buddhism in this region. Details will be given in the next chapter dealing with art and iconography. The recent excavations at Antichak in the Bhagalpur district have brought to light the ancient site of the Vikramaśilā Mahāvihāra. In the unearthed structure itself remains of an imposing brick edifice with its cruciform plan and terraces recalls the one at Paharpur.

In Orissa, important Buddhist sites are Khiching and Ratnagiri and in Bengal Paharpur (Somapura) and Mainamati (Pattikera). As early as in 1875, R.L. Mitra published from Calcutta a monograph under the title *Antiquities of Orissa*. In 1911, N.N. Vasu published his *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*. In the twenties of the present century R.P. Chanda made extensive explorations in Mayurbhanj

[1]Spooner, D.B., Excavations at Pāṭāliputra, *ASIAR*, 1912-13, pp. 53ff.

[2]idem, Excavations at Basarh, *ASIAR*, 1911-12; 1913-14, pp. 98ff.

[3]Jackson, V.H., Notes on Old Rājagriha, *ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 265-71; D.N. Sen, Sites in Rajgir connected with Buddha and his Disciples, *JBORS*, IV, 1918, pp. 113-35.

[4]Hargreaves, H., Excavations at Sarnath, *ASIAR*, 1914-15, pp. 97-131.

[5]Marshall, J., Excavations at Bhita, *ASIAR*, 1911-12, pp. 29ff.

[6]Sastri, H., Excavations at Kasia, *ASIAR*, 1911-12, pp. 134-40.

[7]Spooner, D.B., Excavations at Nalanda, *ASIAR*, (Eastern Circle), 1915-16, pp. 33-38; 1916-17, pp. 40-47; 1917-18, pp. 39-43.

[8]Page, J.A., Excavations at Nalanda, *ASIAR*, 1922-23, pp. 104-07; 1923-24, pp. 70-74; 1924-25, pp. 82-86; 1925-26, pp. 100-107; 1926-27, pp. 127-35; 1927-28, pp. 97-101; 1928-29, pp. 85-87; M.H. Kuraishi, Excavations at Nalanda, *ASIAR*, 1929-30, pp. 135-37; Kuraishi and G.C. Chandra, *ASIAR*, 1930-34; pp. 130-40; G.C. Chandra, *ASIAR*, 1934-35, pp. 38ff. 1935-36, pp. 507-52; M. Nazim, *ASIAR*, 1936-37, pp. 42-45.

[9]Chanda, R.P., Excavations at Sarnath, *ASIAR*, 1927-28, pp. 95ff; D.R. Sahni, *ASIAR*, 1921-22, pp. 42-45; *Guide to Sarnath*, Delhi, 1933.

[10]Majumdar, N.G., Exploration at Lauriya, *ASIAR*, 1936-37, pp. 47ff.

[11]Nazim, M., *ASIAR*, 1936-37, pp. 45ff.

and Khiching and the results of these explorations were published in the annual reports of the *ASI*.[1] The Ratnagiri-Mahāvihāra was excavated by Devala Mitra, and the result of this excavation was published in 1960.[2] There are numerous unexplored and unexcavated Buddhist sites in Orissa. A few years ago a joint project of excavating these sites was undertaken by the Visvabharati and the Utkal Universities. In Bengal, the site of Paharpur was explored in the twenties by D.R. Bhandarkar, J.N. Banerjea and H.C. Ray.[3] Excavations in this region were subsequently taken up by R.D. Banerji (1925-26),[4] K.N. Dikshit,[5] and G.C. Chandra.[6] N. Ahmed's book under the title *Mahasthan* was published from Karachi in 1964. In 1944, D.C. Bhattacharya published an article under the title Harikela and the ruins of Mainamati[7] which was followed by T.N. Ramachandran's 'Recent Archaeological Discoveries along the Mainamati and Lalmai Ranges, Tippera District, East Bengal' in 1946.[8] Systematic excavations at Mainamati were undertaken by the Archaeological Dept. of Pakistan, the results of which were published in three volumes by F.A. Khan (1955-57). The Dept. of Archaeology, Calcutta University, had excavated the site of Rajbadidanga which yielded numerous Buddhist specimens. The results were published in 1968 by S.R. Das.[9]

We shall conclude this chapter with reference to Debala Mitra's *Buddhist Monuments* (1971) which gives an up-to-date and comprehensive account of the Buddhist monuments scattered all over India. We have seen above that the sites as well as different types of monuments have been worked out previously by a host of scholars, but what gives distinction to this work is that its author has made a

[1]Chanda, R.P., *ASIAR*, 1922-23, pp. 124-28; 1923-24, pp. 87ff.

[2]Mitra, D., Ratnagiri : Unearthing a New Buddhist Site in Orissa, *Indo-Asian Culture*, IX, 1960, pp. 16-75.

[3]Bhandarkar, D.R., Banerjee, J.N., and Ray, H.C., *ASIAR*, 1922-23, pp. 115ff.

[4]Banerji, R.D., Excavation at Paharpur, *ASIAR*, 1925-26, pp, 107-13.

[5]Dikshit, K.N., *ASIAR*, 1926-27, pp. 140-49; 1927-28, pp. 101-11; 1928-29, pp. 97-98; 1929-30, pp. 138-42. See also his Excavations at Paharpur, *MASI*, 56, Delhi, 1938.

[6]Chandra, G.C., *ASIAR*, 1930-34, pp. 113-28.

[7]Bhattacharya, D.C., in *IHQ*, XX, 1944, pp. 1-8.

[8]Ramachandran, T.N., in *B.C. Law Volume*, II, Poona, 1946, pp. 213-31.

[9]*Rājbāḍiḍāṅgā*, ASB publication No. XIV, Calcutta, 1968.

successful attempt in establishing the historical sequence of Buddhist migrations from a strictly archaeological point of view as revealed in the structural and stylistic differences. The book is divided into three unequal parts, the first dealing with the life of the Buddha. Before his Parinirvana, the Buddha spoke of four places—Lumbinivana, Gaya, Isipatana and Kusinagara—which a pious believer should visit with faith and reverence. In the second part we have a general introduction of the monuments. This part is divided into two chapters, one devoted to historical survey and the other to architecture. The third part which is the most important portion of this work contains a vivid description of the sites and monuments. It is divided into twelve chapters, the first of which is devoted to Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Nepalese Tarai, the second to Madhya Pradesh, the third to Kashmir, the fourth to North-West including Pakistan, the fifth to Sindh, the sixth to Rajasthan, the seventh to Gujarat, the eighth to Maharashtra, the ninth to Tamilnadu, Kerala and Mysore, the tenth to Andhra Pradesh, the eleventh to Orissa and the twelfth to West Bengal and Bangladesh. The book also contains an appendix on Kapilavastu which throws light on the birthplace of the Buddha.

Chapter 11

Studies on Buddhist Art and Iconography

With the discovery of the sites connected with Buddhism and also that of Buddhist images, need for a systematic study of Buddhist art and iconography became vital. As early as in 1838, Ritter wrote on the colossus Buddha image found at Bamiyan, including the great Stūpas, and coined the term 'Indo-Bactrian art.' Alexander Cunningham wrote on Buddhist symbols in 1851,[1] and in 1854 Sykes published his study on the miniature Caityas.[2] The sites especially selected for the purpose of studying Buddhist art were Sanchi, Sravasti, Rajgir, Amaravati, Bharhut, Bhilsa, Mathura, Jalalabad, etc., and the main emphasis of this study was on the so-called Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra.[3]

Buddhist structures were slightly touched in the works of James Fergusson, but it was in the writings of J. Burgess that things Buddhist in architecture, painting and sculpture got real prominence. In the preceding chapter we have given a list of his works. Albert Grünwedel's *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien* which first appeared in 1893 (Eng. tr. under the title *Buddhist Art in India* made by Agnes C. Gibson 1901, revised and enlarged by J. Burgess) was the first standard work on Buddhist art. It has four sections, the elaborate introduction dealing with the totality of Indian history and traditions in relation to the art-conceptions, the second chapter with the early Indian style, the third with the Gandhāra sculptures and the

[1] *JRAS*, 1851, pp. 71, 117; cf. Hodgson in ibid, 1861, pp. 393ff.; Sewell and Pincott in ibid, XIX, pp. 238ff; XXII, pp. 299ff; *Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 176ff.; XV, pp. 61, 89, 217ff.; Lillie, 'Saints and Trees' in *JRAS*, XIV, pp. 218ff.

[2] *JRAS*, 1854, pp 37ff., 227ff.

[3] For earlier works in this field see Beal in *JRAS*, NS, V, pp. 164ff; Bloch in *JASB*, LXVII, pp. 177-205; Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I, pp. 1-13; III, pp. 79ff.; Fergusson in *JRAS*, III, 1868; Friedrich in *ZDMG*, XVIII, 1864; Sewell, *Report* on the Amaravati Tope, 1877; Simpson in *Trans. Royal Inst. Br. Arch.*, 1879-80, pp. 34-67; etc.

fourth with representations of Buddha and Bodhisattva. The work is important not for the views on Indian art contained therein but for the vast mass of materials with which he worked. His second work *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei* (1900) was also monumental which led the basis of the study of northern Buddhist iconography.

The next important work was Alfred Foucher's *Etude sur Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde* (1906) which was the first standard work on Buddhist iconography.[1] John Griffith's *Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta* (2 vols., 1896) was probably the earliest critical evaluation of Ajanta murals.[2] Of other early contributions to Buddhist art, mention may be made of G.A. Grierson's 'On a Stone Image of the Buddha found at Rajagriha,'[3] Leitner's 'Graeco-Buddhist Sculpture,'[4] Sewell's 'Early Buddhist Symbolism'[5] and 'Some Buddhist Bronzes and Relics'[6] William Simpson's 'Buddhist Architecture: Jalalabad,'[7] 'Buddhist Caves of Afganistan'[8] and *Buddhist Praying Wheel* (1896), V.A. Smith's and W. Hoey's 'Ancient Buddhist Statuettes,'[9] L.A. Waddell's 'Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures in Swat'[10] and 'The Indian Buddhist Cult of Avalokita and Tārā,'[11] etc.

Buddhist art of India remained practically unknown in Europe until in the later parts of the 19th century some museums acquired sculptures known as specimens of Gandhāra art. These sculptures caused some public interest, as they could be connected with classical

[1] Other works of Foucher on Buddhist art: 'L'art bouddhique dans L'Inde d' apares un livere recent' in *Rev du L'hist. des relig*, XXX, pp. 319-71; *Catalogue des peintures nepal, et tibet, de la collection B.H. Hodgson*, 1897; 'Les scenes figurees, de la legende du Bouddha' in *Journal Asiatique* V, pp. 523ff; *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, 1918; *L'art Greco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, 1923.

[2] Also see his Ajantā Frescoes in *Ind. Ant.*, I, p. 354; II, pp. 152-53; III, pp. 25-28; IV, pp. 252, 339; *JRAS*, XI, pp. 156-68; *Arch. Sur. W. Ind.*, No. 9; *JASB*, V, pp. 557-62.

[3] *JASB*, LXXXIII (1), pp. 35-38.

[4] *As. Quart. Rev.*, VII, 1894, pp. 186-89; also see *Ind. Ant.*, II, pp. 242ff.

[5] *JRAS*, NS, XVIII, pp. 364ff.

[6] *JRAS*, 1895, pp. 617-62.

[7] *Trans. Royal Inst. Br. Arch.*, 1879-80, pp. 34-64.

[8] *JRAS*, NS, XIV, pp. 319-31.

[9] *JASB*, LXIV (1), pp. 155-62.

[10] *As. Quart. Rev.*, 1896.

[11] *JRAS*, 1894, pp. 51ff.

art, and were considered to belong to the oldest materials of European art, despite their place of origin in India. Since then, discussion on this question never ended. Greek and Roman origins were repeatedly claimed. The German archaeologist Ernst Curtius called the Gandhāra art a new chapter of Greek art. Even a scholar of the rank of Cunningham took no different view,[1] and the same was also the view of Fergusson. Even Grünwedel, whose book remained a pioneer work for more than 20 years, held that Indian art lacked originality and was based entirely upon Persian Orient and the Graeco-Roman-Mediterranean world.[2] However with better knowledge of the development of art in Eastern countries, the originality of Indian art was proved beyond doubt and the Gandhāra sculptures were believed to belong to a general fold of Hellenistic Indian art where two streams were amalgamated to create a qualitative change. On the other hand Stella Kramrisch, the exponent of the Viennese school of J. Strzygowski, contributed to defend Indian art on the merits of Indian aesthetics and spiritual values, as did Havell and Coomaraswamy, who tried to smash the dominating position of Gandhāra art in the sequence of Indian art development.[3] But the views of this latter group

[1] *Archaeological Reports*, III, p. 100.

[2] V.A. Smith, 'Graeco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India' *JASB*, 1889, pp. 107-98; 1892, pp. 50-76; 1893, pp. 84-87; H.H. Cole, *Preservation of National Monuments: Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures from Yusufzai*, Calcutta, 1885; J.L. Kipling, 'The Classical Influence in the Architecture of the Indus Region and Afghanistan,' *Jour. Roy. Inst. British Architects*, I, 1894, pp. 134ff; G.W. Leitner, 'Graeco-Buddhist Sculpture', *As. Quart. Rev.*, VII, 1894, pp. 186-89; J.T. Perry, The Classical Influence in Indian Architecture, *Jour. Roy. Inst. British Architects*, I, 1894, pp. 47ff. W. Simpson, 'Classical Influence in the Architecture of the Indus Region and Afghanistan,' ibid, pp. 93ff., 191ff.; R.P. Spires, 'Classical Influence in Indian Architecture,' ibid, pp. 150ff.; L.A. Waddell, 'Graeco-Buddhist Sculpture in Swat', *As. Quart. Rev.* 1896; E.G. d' Alviella, *Des influences classiques dans l'art de l'Inde*, Paris, 1897; J. Burgess, 'The Gandhāra Sculptures,' *Jour. Ind. Art and Industry*, VIII, 1900, nos. 62-63, 69; A. Foucher, *L'art bouddhique du Gandhāra*, Paris, 1905-18; H. Hargreaves, *'The Buddhist Story in Stone, an Interpretation of Thirty-four Graeco-Buddhist Sculptures in the Lahore Museum*, Calcutta, 1914; J.H. Marshall, 'The Gandhāra School and Mr. Havell', *ASIAR*, 1907-8, pp. 39ff.; 'Excavations at Taxila' in ibid, 1912-13, pp. 1ff.; 1914-15, pp. 1ff.; 1915-16, pp. 1ff.

[3] E.B. Havell's *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, London, 1908, vigorously defined the basic Indianism of the Indian art tradition. This approach has been emphasised in A.K. Coomaraswamy's 'Indian Origin of the Buddha Image,' *JAOS*, 1926; 'Origin of Buddha Image', *Art Bulletin*, 1927; *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927; 'Buddhist Relics from Nagarjunikonda and Amaravati,' *Rupam*, 1929; 'Ancient Sculptures', *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, XXVII, 1929; etc. S. Kramrisch's *Early Indian Sculpture* emphasises the spiritual and conceptual contents of Indian art. The nationalistic viewpoint is also expressed in R.P. Chanda's *Beginnings of Art in Eastern India*, MASI, 1927 and his and other writings on Buddhist art were published in the *Journal of the Dept. of Letters* (C.U.) IV, 1921; *ASIAR*, 1922-23, etc.

were also in many cases exaggerated since they were overcharged with nationalistic emotions.

The nationalist approach as regards the basically Indian origin of the Buddha image is based on the following considerations. (i) The making of Buddha image shows a continuity of historical process from symbol worship to that in icon. The latter took place only in the beginning of Christian era and its emergence was due not to exotic ideas relating to image-worship but to specific historical conditions like the development of Bhakti cult, rise of Mahāyānism and so on. (ii) The craftsmanship was purely local, and the so-called Hellenistic or extraneous features for which the settled Greek craftsman or their descendants in that region might have been responsible—did not change or alter the basic Indian iconographical features as recorded in the iconological canons. (iii) Greater emphasis has been laid by the European art-historians on Gandhāra, neglecting the almost equal claims of Mathura and other schools (iv) All the Buddhist images belonging to the Gandhāra school were cult images, and the Indians could never conceive of cult images (though they are artistic) as specimens of art-objects. In this respect there is a fundamental difference between the Indian and the Hellenistic outlook.

The debate has not been ended but rather revived in a good number of recent works and articles of which reference should be made to B. Rowland's 'Hellenistic Traditions in north-western India,' (1949)[1] R.E.M. Wheeler's 'Romano-Buddhist Art: An Old Problem Restated,' (1949)[2] A.C. Soper's 'The Roman Style in Gandhāra (1951),[3] H. Deydier's *Contribution ā l'etude de l'art du Gandhāra* (1950, containing an analytical bibliography), A.J. Bernet Kempers' 'Die Begegnung der griechisch-römischen Kunst mit dem

[1] *Arts Bulletin*, XXXI, 1949.

[2] *Antiquity*, XXIII, No. 89, 1949.

[3] *American Journal of Archaeology*, LV, 1951.

indischen Kulturkreis (1954),'[1] D. Ahren's 'Die römischen Grundlagen der Gandhāra-kunst (1961),'[2] K.W. Dobbins' 'Gandhāra Buddhist Images with Inscribed Dates (1968),[3] etc. Sir John Marshall's *Taxila* was published in three volumes from Cambridge in 1951 and his *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra* in 1966, also from Cambridge, as the first volume of the Memoirs of the Dept. of Archaeology in Pakistan. H. Ingholt's *Gandharan Art in Pakistan* came out from New York in 1957. The translation of M. Hallade's well-known French work was published by Thames and Hudson under the name *The Gandhāra Style and the Evolution of Buddhist Art* was published in 1968. K. Krishna Murthy's, *The Gandhāra Sculptures: A Critical Study* came out in 1977.

Buddhist art in India came into existence from the third-second century BC when the core of the Stūpa I of Sanchi was probably built. By the close of the pre-Christian era, we find its further development and the emergence of Bharhut and the Caitya hall of Bhaja. This was also the period in which Buddhism was established in Ceylon. By the second century, we have the completeness of Sanchi, Caitya halls at Bedsa and Karle, Buddha images in Mathura and Gandhāra, the earlier phases of the art of Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda, and also evidence of the Buddhist communities in China. From second century onwards we find the development of Gandhāra art, growth of the Mathura schools and the unfolding of Sarnath and Bodh-Gaya, and a corresponding growth of sculpture in Ceylon, influenced by Amaravati, the beginning of Indian colonization and gradual spread of Buddhism in Java (Indonesia) and the growth of Buddhist culture in Tongking (Indo-China).

We have already had the occasion to refer to the general works of Burgess, Cunningham, Fergusson, Foucher *et al*., on the earlier Buddhist sites mentioned above. Specialised studies on the individual sites, emphasising the architectural aspects have also been referred to in the preceding chapter, like those on Sanchi by Maisey (1894), Marshall (1913, 1918, 1940) and Hamid (1940), on Bharhut by Cunningham (1879), Barua (1934-37) and Kala (1951), on Bodh-Gaya by Cunningham (1878), Mitra (1882) and Bloch (1908), on Sarnath by Oertel (1905), Hargreaves (1915), Chanda (1928) and Sahni (1922,

[1] *Handbuch der Archaeologie*, II, 1954.
[2] *Orbis Antiques*, XX, 1961.
[3] *East and West*, XVIII, 1968.

1933), on Amaravati by Fergusson (1868), Burgess (1882, 1887), Sewell (1887) and Rea (1909, 1912), on Nagarjunikonda by Longhurst (1927-30, 1938), Kuraisi (1926-27) Fabri (1930-34), Sarkar (1960, 1962) and Misra (1966), etc. Mention have also been made of Wauchope's *Buddhist Cave Temples of India* (1933) which is of the nature of a general study. Among subsequent works of general category mention should be made of H. Sarkar's *Studies in the Early Buddhist Architecture of India* (1966) which is a systematic survey divided into six parts. Beginning with a general introduction, it gives a detailed analysis of the elliptical structures, construction of the Stūpa shrines and their various patterns—circular, apsidal and quadrilateral. Then we have a critical examination of the Buddhist sites of Taxila and Nagarjunikonda. The most significant contribution of this book to our knowledge is the study of the Buddhist sects in the light of archaeology. From the southern structures the learned author could discern the establishment of four different sects. The author believes that the rock-cut apsidal temples penetrated through the Western Coast into the Buddhist realm of architecture, that the railed Vṛkṣa-Caitya and the memorial Stūpa were amalgamated to form the typical Stūpa architecture and that there was a link between the ancient Indian elliptical structures and the tribal dormitories.

So far as the sculptural aspects are concerned, E. Hultzsch made in 1912 a very interesting study of the Jātaka stories on the Bharhut railings.[1] Previously Cunningham (1879) had referred to these depictions, but the subject was most comprehensively treated in B.M. Barua's *Bharhut* (1934-37). Portions of the eastern gateway and of the railings which encircled the monument were deposited by Cunningham in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and these were studied in detail by Barua. Both gateway and railings are lavishly enriched with sculptured reliefs, many of which illustrate incidents in the Jātakas or scenes connected with the life of the Buddha, and these illustrations are made all the more valuable by the descriptive labels attached to them which leave no doubt as to their identification. The Bharhut sculptures which are now in the Allahabad Museum were worked out by S.C. Kala.[2] The bas-reliefs illustrative of the Jātaka legends

[1] E. Hultzsch, 'Jātakas at Bharhut' in *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 399ff.
[2] S.C. Kala, 'Bharhut Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum' in *JUPHS*, XVIII, pp. 91ff.

and scenes from the life of the Buddha, of Sanchi, along with representations of the sacred trees and Stūpas, symbolical of Śākyamuni and previous Buddhas, the real or fabulous birds and beasts, heraldic and floral devices, were taken into account by Foucher and Grünwedel, and subsequently by Marshall, and thanks to their efforts the interpretation of the majority of these reliefs have now been placed beyond dispute.

In 1875 F.S. Growse wanted to prove the Greek origin of the sculptures of the Mathura school.[1] A. Führer in 1894 suggested an Indo-Scythic origin of the Mathura style.[2] In the first decade of the twentieth century J. Ph. Vogel made valuable contributions to the study of the Mathura School of sculpture and proved its distinctiveness from that of Gandhāra,[3] on which he worked previously.[4] His *Le Sculpture de Mathura* was published from Paris and Brussels in 1930. He also prepared a *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, Allahabad, 1910. In fact the publication of Catalogues and Handbooks of different museums were very much helpful to the study of sculptures.[5] Subsequently R.P. Chanda (1922-23) made a more systematic and detailed study on the Mathura school of sculpture.[6] The Buddha and Bodhisattva images of Mathura Museum were specially studied by V.S. Agarwala.[7] In 1929, A.K. Coomaraswamy

[1]F.S. Growse, 'Supposed Greek Sculpture at Mathura,' *JASB*, 1875, pp. 212ff.

[2]A. Führer, Indo-Skythic Architecture and Sculptures of the Mathura School in *Jour. Ind. Art and Industry*, V, 1894, pp. 58ff.

[3]J. Ph. Vogel, 'The Mathura School of Sculpture' in *ASIAR*, 1906-7, pp. 137ff.; 1909-10, pp. 63ff.

[4]Vogel, 'Inscribed Gandhāra Sculptures' in *ASIAR*, 1903-4, pp. 244ff.

[5]Among the earlier catalogues mention should be made of J. Anderson's *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collection in the Indian Museum*, Parts I and II, Calcutta, 1883; Th. Bloch, *Supplementary Catalogue of the Archaeological Collection of the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, 1911; N.G. Majumdar, *Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, Parts I and II, Delhi, 1937; D.R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, Calcutta, 1914; R.G. Basak and D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Relics in the Museum of Varendra Research Society*, Rajsahi, 1919, etc.

[6]*ASIAR*, 1922-23.

[7]V.S. Agarwala, 'Buddha and Bodhisattva Images in the Mathura Museum' in *JUPHS*, XXI, 1948, pp. 43-98.

wrote on the Buddhist relics from Nagarjunikonda and Amaravati.[1] Amaravati sculptures were elaborately dealt with by C. Sivaramamurti in 1942.[2] We have already had the occasion to refer to Griffith's (1896-97) pioneering work on Ajanta. A. Foucher's 'Primary Report on the Interpretation of the Paintings and Sculptures of Ajanta' was published in 1919-20 in the *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, vol. V and his 'Lettre d'Ajanta' in *Journal Asiatique*, 11th series.

Between the third and the sixth centuries we find in India what is known as the Gupta style manifested in the further developments of Mathura, Sarnath and Bodh-Gaya as well as the earlier developments of Ajanta. Corresponding developments are found in Indo-China, where we have the third-fourth century bronze Buddha from Dongduong (Annam) and Buddhist art in Funan under Gupta influence; Central Asia, where we have the Miran paintings, Colossal Buddhas at Bamiyan, sculpture at Rawak Stūpa and the earlier Tunhuang paintings;[3] China, where we have the third-fourth century Buddha images, some under Gandhāra influence, and the beginning of cave temples at Yunkan, Lungmen and other places;[4] and Korea where we have

[1]*Rupam*, 1929; see also his 'Ancient Sculptures' in *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, XXVII, 1929.

[2]C. Sivaramamurti, Amaravati Sculptures, *Madras Mus. Bul.*, No. 4, 1942.

[3]Recent studies in the Buddhist art and archaeology of Central Asia are found in F.H. Andrew's *Wall Paintings from Ancient Shrine in Central Asia*, 1948; I.V. Vincent's *The Sacred Oasis, Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, Tunhuang*, 1953; J. Hackin and others *'Nouvelles recherches' archaeologiques a' Begram*, 2 vols. 1954, and B. Gray's *Buddhist Cave Paintings at Tun-huang*, 1959. The activities of the Russian archaeologists have been mentioned in the chapter on Central Asia.

[4]Among numerous works on the Buddhist art of China the following are most useful. *The Art and Architecture of China*, 1956, in the 'Pelican History of Art' by L. Sickman and A. Sper, and W. Willet's *Chinese Art* (1958) in two Pelican volumes, and also. M. Sullivan's *Introduction to Chinese Art*, 1961. For specialised studies see B. Rowland's 'Indian Images in Chinese Sculpture' in *Artibus Asiae*, X, 1947; S. Mizuno and T. Nagahiro's *Yunkang, The Buddhist Cave Temples in the Fifth Century AD in North China*, 1952 ff; J.L., Davidson's *The Lotus Sūtra in Chinese Art*, 1954; A.C. Soper's 'Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China' in *Artibus Asiae Supplementum*, XIX, 1959 and 'South Chinese influence on the Buddhist Art' in *Bulletin for the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, XXXII, 1960.

the Koguryo and Paekche Buddhist artistic activities.[1] Japan was untouched practically until the sixth century, despite sporadic contacts of Buddhism from China and Korea.

From the seventh century onwards we have in India what is called late-Gupta art marked by Ajanta and the cave temples of Western and also of Southern India. This was the period when Mahāyāna Buddhism and its ramifications spread into Tibet, and in the kingdom of Sumatra (Palembang) Mahāyāna made its headway. Central Javanese art of this period was under the late Gupta influence, but an independent development was found in Indo-China (in Dvaravati, one of the successor-states of Funan).[2] Further development in Tun-huang paintings occurred in Central Asia where we also find the emergence of the Kyzyl paintings and the Fondukistan sculptures. In China under the Northern Chou dynasty we find the developments of the caves of Hsiang-t'ang-shan and also a renaissance in painting by Wu-Tao-tse and others; in Korea, the flowering of Buddhist art in Koguryo, Paekche and Silla; and in Japan, the founding of Horyuji and the development of Buddhist art in Hakuho era under Sui and early T'ang influence.[3]

From the eighth century onwards, eastern India became the field of Vajrayāna with Nalanda as its centre whence it spread to Nepal and

[1]W. Watson's 'The Earliest Images of Korea' is a very significant study published in the *Transactions of the Oriental Seramic Society*, XXXI, 1957-59. For a general understanding of the Korean art in relation to Buddhism see E. McCune's *Arts of Korea*, 1962.

[2]R. Le May's *The Cultures of south-east Asia*, 1954, second ed. 1956, contains, besides a general description, a good bibliography of Indonesian art. A more detailed study is, however, found in A.J. Bernet Kempers' *Ancient Indonesian Art*, 1959. *The Arts of Thailand*, 1960, edited by Th. Bowie, is also very informative. Of specialised studies, reference should be made to A.B. Griswold's 'Dated Buddha Images of Northern Siam' in *Artibus Asiae Supplementum*, XVI, 1957, A. Lippe's 'Dvaravati Bronze Buddha from Thailand' in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 1961, etc.

[3]For Japan see R.T. Paine and A. Spoer's *The Art and Architecture of Japan*, London, 1955; Y. Yashiro and P.C. Swann's *2000 Years of Japanese Art*, 1958; also see G. Henderson and L. Hurvitz's 'The Buddha of Seiryoji' in *Artibus Asiae*, XIX, 1956; R. Tajima's *Les deux grands Maṇḍalas et la doctrine de l'esoterisme Shingon*, 1958, *Wall Paintings in the Kondo, Horyuji Monastery* (text by J. Tanaka) 1951; *Shosoin Homotsu* (Treasures of the Shosoin) 3 vols. 1960-62; *Nihon Emakimono Zenshu* (Japanese Scroll Paintings), 15 vols. 1958 ff. etc.

Tibet. The art of this period, subsequently patronized by the Pāla kings, was known as the late classical Buddhist art, which lasted up to the twelfth century. In Ceylon during the eighth and ninth centuries there was a typical growth of Māhāyanic sculptures, but with the eleventh century Theravāda renaissance and the flowering of the Polonnaruwa period, a revival in art forms took place marked by Nirvāṇa group at Gal-vihāra, Wata-daga, Sat Mahal Pasada, etc. In Indonesia under the Śailendras, the Mataram dynasty and the Singhasari kingdom Mahāyāna art flourished (cf. the Leyden Prajñāpāramitā), although not in an unmixed form. In Central Asia, between eighth and tenth centuries, we have the monuments at Khocho (Turfan area) and Kumtura (near Kucha) under T'ang influence, continuation of artistic work at Tun-huang, and paintings in Chinese style in southern Turkestan and Bezelik. Continuous political changes and social turmoil put an end to further development of Buddhist art in Central Asia after the tenth century AD.[1]

[1]Indo-China, China, Korea and Japan could, however, maintain a continuity in art tradition and make further developments. In Indo-China during the ninth and tenth centuries, we find Buddhist art in Champa (Dong-duong), during the tenth and eleventh, the fusion of Mahayanist Khmer art with Hindu art, and in the twelfth the growth of Angkor Vat. From the thirteenth century onwards, Lamaism made a headway, especially in Northern China, under Yuan dynasty. Further developments in this line took place under Ching dynasty which came to rule from about the middle of the 17th century. In Korea, classical Buddhist art under the Chinese Tang influence continued up to the tenth century AD and a continuity of the Silla art could be observed. With the ascendency of the Yi dynasty in the last decade of the 14th century Confucianism made a headway contributing to the decline of Buddhism and Buddhist art. In spite of this, there was a continuity in later Buddhist art which was mainly imitative. In Japan, during the Nara period (8th century) Buddhist art was a T'ang model represented by the wall paintings at Horyuji temples at Nara. During the Jogan period (9th century) Vajrayāna was imported from China, the influence of which on art could be observed in the monasteries of Hiei-zan (Tendai school) and Koyasan (Shingon school). During the Fujiwara period (9th-12th century), Amitābha cult gained ground (cf. Phoenix Hall of Byodoin temple near Uji. Amitābha statue by Jocho) and art came to be associated with it. In the Kamakura period (12th-14th centuries) artistic activities centred round Zen Buddhism, exemplified by the Colossal Buddha at Kamakura, the sculptural school of Unkie, etc. Subsequent periods of Zen Art were marked by paintings and it was the extensive ink-work of the Zen monk Sesshu (1420-1506) that Buddhism could express

We have thus given a bare outline of the Buddhist art activities in India along with their corresponding developments in other countries. Functionally Buddhist architecture consists in the erection of Stūpas with sculptured railings as we come across in Bharhut or Sanchi, erection of Stūpas within the rock-cut Caitya halls as we come across in Bhaja or Karle, and individual temples containing the cult image as we come across in Bodh-Gaya. The development of sculptural art had a twofold inspiration. The first was made for decorative purposes, and for this the legends of the Buddha's life were depicted on the walls and railings in form of reliefs. The second was for cultic purposes which required the image of Buddha, and subsequently the images of Buddhist deities. At first, the Buddha was worshipped in the form of Stūpa or other symbols. In early Buddhist art, e.g., in Bharhut depictions where scenes from the Buddha's life are presented, the Buddha is never shown in human form. In all such cases he is represented in symbols. Later, Buddha images were substituted for Stūpas, and very often we find peaceful co-existence of Stūpas and images in the same site, as we come across in Ajanta. The origin of painting on the cave walls was for decorative purposes in which the Buddhist legends were amply used.

In the earlier stages of the development of Buddhist sculpture the Buddha-images got predominance. Standing Buddha images were generally represented in *varada* (offering boon) and *abhaya* (offering protection) postures of hand. A few reclining images were also produced. The seated images followed different hand postures, each having its own significance, e.g., the *bhūmisparśa* or hand touching the ground was the symbol of the Buddha's conquest of Māra, the *dhyāna* that of his enlightenment, or the *dharmacakra* that of the first sermon at Sarnath. The eight great miracles (*aṣṭamahāpratihārya*) performed by the Buddha (birth, enlightenment, first sermon, death, miracle at Sāṅkāsya, miracle at Śrāvastī, taming of Nālagiri and receiving honey from the monkey) became a very popular theme of the Buddhist sculptural art. Sometimes the eight miracles are represented in abbreviated forms on the stela around the principal image showing the enlightenment theme. With the growth of Mahāyāna the

itself for the last time in artistic form on a significant scale. In Japan, as elsewhere, Buddhism was unable to produce anything original after the sixteenth century.

concept of five dhyānī Buddhas—Amitābha, Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Amoghasiddhi and Ratnasambhava, each symbolising a *skandha* or aggregate of existence—became popular. They were represented on the four sides of a *stūpa*, with the exception of Vairocana who was supposed to be the core of the Stūpa. Subsequently their associates, viz., the Bodhisattvas and their spouses, and also their emanations in the forms of numerous gods and goddesses, became objects of extensive cults calling forth the production of a variety of cult-images in stone and metal. Since all these deities required identification and interpretation, Buddhist sculptural studies became inextricably mixed with iconographical studies.

Foucher's *L' Iconographie Bouddhique de I'Indie*, in two parts published from Paris in 1900 and 1905, was the pioneering work on Buddhist Iconography. It was followed by A. Getty's *Gods of Northern Buddhism* published in 1914 in which we come across a systematic attempt of tracing and identifying the deities of Vajrayāna Buddhism, a Tantric growth of Mahāyāna Buddhism, which was popular in Eastern India and also in Tibet. The first edition of B.T. Bhattacharyya's *Indian Buddhist Iconography* was published from Oxford in 1924, in which passages from the *Sādhanamālā* and the *Niṣpannayogāvali*, relating to the description of the deities of Vajrayāna Buddhism have been quoted and translated into English along with illustrations from extant Indian, Tibetan and Chinese specimens and also from Nepalese drawings. Despite certain limitations, it is the best book on Buddhist iconography published so far, from which subsequent scholars have heavily drawn.[1] In 1929 was published N.K. Bhattasali's *Iconography of the Buddhist Sculptures of the Dacca Museum* which dealt with the extant specimens of different deities of Vajrayāna found mostly from Bengal. The credit of the author lay in identifying some rare images on the basis of textual descriptions. A.K. Coomaraswamy's *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, published from Harvard in 1935, dealt mostly with the question of the origin and development of Buddhist icons, structurally and conceptually. A.K. Gordon's *Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism* (Columbia NY, 1939), and E. Clark's *Two Lamaistic Pantheons* (Cambridge, Mass.) although concentrate on Tibet are equally important for the understanding of Indian Buddhist

[1]A revised and enlarged version of this book was published from Calcutta in 1958.

iconography. These two works have sufficiently been utilised in the revised second edition of B.T. Bhattacharyya's work mentioned above. The Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetalogy published in 1962 *Rgyan Drug Mchog Gnyis*. It reproduces ancient scrolls depicting the Buddha and the great teachers of Mahāyāna. The exposition in English presents the iconographical characteristics and the theme of the paintings. A Sanskrit Tibetan glossary, a key to names and a note of the sources are appended.

Now we shall refer to certain iconographical studies on the basis of extant sculptures. As early as in 1894, L.A. Waddell wrote a valuable article under the title 'The Indian Buddhist cult of Avalokiteśvara and his consort Tārā illustrated from the remains in Magadha.'[1] In 1903-04, J. Ph. Vogel made a study of the Buddhist sculptures found from Banaras from an iconographical point of view.[2] South Indian Buddhist art and iconography was studied by T.A. Gopinath Rao in his 'Buddhist vestiges in Kanchipura' (1915),[3] R.S. Rao in his 'Ramireddipalli Buddhist Sculptures' (1928),[4] T. N. Ramacandran's 'Buddhist Sculptures from a Stūpa near Goli Village, Guntur' (1929),[5] 'Nagapattinam and other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum' (1954),[6] and 'Buddhist Remains in Salihundum' (1949-50),[7] P.R. Ramachandra Rao's *Art of Nagarjunikonda* (1956), S. Krishnamurti's 'The valley of Nagarjunikonda, (1969)[8] Jan Yun Hua's 'Nagarjunikonda' (1970)[9] C. Sivaramamurti's 'Amaravati Sculptures' (1942),[10] D. Barrett's *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum* (London, 1954), A. Bareau's 'Le site bouddhique de Guntupalli' (1971)[11] and others. Deccan was treated in D. Barrett's 'A Group of Bronzes from the Deccan' (1956-57)[12] E.H. Johnston's 'Two Buddhist Scenes at

[1] *JARS*, 1894, pp. 51-89.
[2] J. Ph. Vogel, 'Buddhist Sculptures from Banaras' in *ASIAR*, 1903-4, pp. 212-26.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, XLIV, 1915, pp. 127ff.
[4] *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, III, 1928, pp. 58-65.
[5] *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, 1929.
[6] ibid, 1954.
[7] *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, 1949-50. [8] *Mahabodhi*, LXXVII, 1969.
[9] *Journal of Indian History*, XLVIII, 1970.
[10] *Madras Museum Bulletin*, IV, 1942.
[11] *Arts Asiatique*, XXIII, 1971.
[12] *Lalitkalā*, Nos. 3-4, 1956-57, pp. 39-45.

Bhaja' (1939),[1] R.S. Gupta's *The Iconography of the Buddhist Sculptures of Ellora* (Aurangabad, 1964), Amita Ray's *Aurangabad Sculptures* (Culcutta, 1966), S. Settar's 'Buddhist Vihāra at Aihole, (1969)'[2] etc. Bronzes of north-western India and West Pakistan were worked out by D. Barrett in 1962.[3] Devala Mitra wrote on the sculptures from Ahichchatra in 1955. These sculptures have been assigned to the Kuṣāṇa period.[4] The Catalogue of Antiquities of the Patna Museum was published in 1964 being edited by P. L. Gupta. The entire Kurkihar hoard, having Tantric Buddhist affiliation, is in the Patna Museum. In 1934 K.P. Jayaswal wrote on the metal images of the Kurkihar hoard and tried to fix up the chronology of the images.[5] In 1940, A. Banerji-Sastri wrote an excellent article under the title 'Ninety-three inscriptions on the Kurkihar Bronzes'[6] which has remained so long as the genuine source for the study of Kurkihar bronzes. A.J. Barnet Kemper's *The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese Art*, was published from Leiden in 1933.

The Buddhist images from Kurkihar, Nalanda and Bodh-Gaya have a marked Tantric bearing. The same holds good in the case of those found in Bengal, in some parts of Madhya Pradesh (cf. Sirpur) and Orissa (Banpur bronzes). Detailed iconographical study of the images found in all these sites was made by the present writer in *East Indian Bronzes*, a collective work published in 1979 by the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. Since in Tantric Buddhism there is a variety of forms and conceptions of the deities, most of the earlier works on Buddhist iconography banked on this phase of Buddhism. Among important specialised works in this field mention should be made of Marie T. de Mallmann's *Introduction a l'Etude d' Avalokiteśvara* which came out from Paris in 1948. Mention should also be made in this connection of B.T. Bhattacharyya's excellent article 'Iconography of Heruka.'[7] E. Conze's 'Iconography of Prajñāpāramitā' (1949-51)[8] was a significant textual contribution. Debala Mitra wrote on the Tantric Bud-

[1] *JISOA*, VII, pp. 1-7.
[2] *East and West*, XIX, 1969.
[3] *Lalit Kala*, No. 11, 1962, pp. 35-44.
[4] *JAS*, Letters, XXI, 1955, pp. 63-67.
[5] *JISOA*, II, 1934, pp. 70-82.
[6] *JBORS*, XXVI, 1940, pp. 236-51, 299-308.
[7] *Indian Culture*, II, No. 1.
[8] *Oriental Art*, II, 1949, pp. 47-52; III, 1951, pp. 104-9.

dhist deity Mahākāla,[1] (1955), 'Image of Sambara in Patna Museum' (1958)[2] and 'Jambhala-Maṇḍala in Sculpture' (1961)[3] Mallmann's iconographical study on Mañjuśrī, *Etude Iconographique sur Mañjuśrī*, came out from Paris in 1964. Mention should also be made to the excellent article of J.E. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw 'The Paṭṭikera Cundā and variations of Her Image' published in 1966.[4]

In 1974 was published D.C. Bhattacharyya's *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources* in which materials from some unpublished manuscripts were used. Here mention may be made of such unpublished texts containing unpublished materials as *Abhidhānottara* (A.S. No. G. 10759), *Ādi-Vāgvajratriratna-bimna* (A.S. No. G. 9998), *Cakrasamvara-sādhana* (A.S. No. G. 4752), *Dharmakoṣa-samgraha* (A.S. No. G. 8055), *Ekallavīra-Caṇḍamahāroṣana-tantra* (A.S. No. 9089), *Kṛṣṇayamāri-tantra* (A.S. No. 9904), *Amoghapāśa-Lokeśvara-Pūjā* Cambridge MS., *Nārayaṇa-paripṛcchā* (A.S. No. G. 9985), *Pūja-paddhati* (A.S. No. A. 12) *Pancarakṣā* (A.S. No. B. 35, B.4), *Vajra-dāka-tantra* (A.S. No. G. 3825), *Vajrāvali-nāmo maṇḍalapāyikā* (A.S. No. 3856), *Vajrayāna-pūjāvidhi* (A.S. No. G. 9968), *Vasundharodeśa* (A.S. No. G. 4840), *Vasundhārā-Vratotpatyāvadāna*) (A.S. No. B. 44), *Vajravārāhī-dvādaśa-tantra* (A.S. No. 9978 A), etc.

In 1977 was published by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, *Tantrayana Art: An Album* with introduction and notes by S.K. Saraswati. This *Album* is a sequel to the study of the 'Origin and Development of Tantrayāna Art' which the Asiatic Society undertook at the instance of the UNESCO under their project of the "Study of Buddhist Art and Architecture." The comprehensive report of the study, compiled in 1973, still awaits publication. By Tantrayāna art is meant what are usually designated as the Eastern Schools of Sculpture and Painting, since these schools were the principal careers of Tantric-ideas in Buddhist thought. These schools had their impacts in other Buddhist countries like Nepal and Tibet and, to a certain extent, in Burma and Indonesia. The *Album* contains illustrations of the images of the Buddha, the Bodhisattvas, and the emanated gods and goddesses, found in stone and metal from different parts of the country with descriptive notes as introductory. It also illustrates a variety of

[1] *IHQ*, XXXIV, 1958, pp. 1-5.
[2] *OHRJ*, IX, 1960, pp. 43-46.
[3] *JAS*, III, 1961, pp. 38-41.
[4] *N.K. Bhattasali Commemoration Volume*, Dacca, 1966, pp. 119-43.

paintings. A fairly large number of palm-leaf manuscripts bear paintings on the leaves and occasionally on wooden covers. There has been practically no study of these paintings from the stylistic point of view since the documents are not easily available for a comprehensive study. The *Allrum* contains 70 colour plates.

We have already had the occasion to refer to Foucher's *La vie du Bouddha d'apres les textes et les monuments de l'Inde* (1949) in connection with the life of the Buddha. Among works belonging to the general type mention may be made of *The Art of India* (1954) by Stella Kramrisch, *India* (1959) in the 'Art of the World' Series by Hermann Goetz, *The Art of Buddhism* (1964) by Dietrich Seckel (Eng. tr. by Ann E. Keep), etc. *Indian Sculptures in the Vonder Heydt Collection* (1964), a descriptive catalogue by J.E. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, contains illustrations of Indian art by many full page prints and illuminating details. Buddhist art covers but a small part of the scope of this book, yet some Mathura, Amaravati and Gandhāra sculptures as well as an image and fragments of Pāla art are well described in their iconographic specialities and artistic merits. The first volume of Manfred Lurker's *Bibliographie zur Symbolkunde*, which came out in 1964, is of interest to scholars working in the fields of Comparative Religion, Folklore, Art and Iconography. For those interested in Buddhist studies this bibliography may specially be recommended, as Buddhism is rich in symbols. A.C. Soper's 'Dome of Heaven' (1947)[1] deals with the symbolism of Stūpa. W. Kirfel's *Symbolik les Buddhismus* (1959) and D.A. Sounders' *Mudrā: A Study of Symbolic Gestures in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture* (1960) are important works of symbolism and iconography, and to these works may be added, besides the aforesaid works of Mallmann and Conze, M.F. Ward's 'The Lotus Symbol: Its Meaning in Buddhist Art and Philosophy' (1952),[2] B.N. Misra's 'Three Bodhisattva Images from Nalanda' (1953),[3] M. Lalou's 'Notes to Vajrapāni' (1956, 1961),[4] J.J. Boeles' 'The Buddhist Tutelary Couple Hārītī and Pañcika' (1968),[5] S. Chattopadhyay's 'Buddhist Iconography and the Mañjuśrīmūla-

[1] *Arts Bulletin*, XXIX, 1947.
[2] *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, XI, 1952.
[3] *JUPHS*, I, 1953.
[4] *Adyar Library Bulletin*, XX, 1956; XXV, 1961.
[5] *Journal of the Siam Society*, LVI, 1968.

kalpa' (1968),[1] R.L. Mehta's 'Amitābha Buddha Image from Chavaj' (1970),[2] P. Barthelemy's 'Identification de l 'outil, sur la representation du Candanajātaka a Bharhut' (1971),[3] etc. Mention should also be made to such works as *Ten Lines of the Buddha* (1972) dealings with Siamese temple paintings and Jātaka tales, by E. Wray, C. Rosenfield and D. Baily with photographs by J.D. Wray, L.S. Weiner's *Ajanta and its Place in Buddhist Art* (1977), etc.

In 1978 was published *The Image of the Buddha* under the editorship of D.L. Snellgrove. Compiled over a period of five years under the auspices of the UNESCO this work traces different forms in which the ideal of Buddhahood has found expression throughout the ages in the major Buddhist countries of Asia. Arranged according to chronological periods and geographical areas, it traces the gradual evolution of Buddhist iconography and the characteristic features of paintings in each Asian country. The first chapter introduces the earliest concepts of the Buddha and the first aniconic representations of him. The second traces the development of various representations of the Buddha in human form. The third discusses in detail the flowering of Buddhist art in India. The fourth and fifth chapters deal with the appearance of the Buddha image in Śrīlaṅkā, Burma, Thailand and other Asian countries. The final chapter is an examination of the symbolic representations. The text, prepared by a panel of internationally famous scholars, is complemented by a wealth of illustrative materials, consisting of over 350 black and white and coloured plates, figures and maps.

[1] *Journal of the Dept. of Humanities*, Burdwan University, I, 1968.
[2] *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, XX, 1970.
[3] *Arts Asiatique*, XXIII, 1971.

Chapter 12

Studies on Buddhism from Historical Viewpoint

Now we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity of drawing the attention of our readers to the text books, encyclopaedias, collections, and other types of works preserving accounts of the researches on Buddhism. These works undoubtedly help us to form a fair historical understanding of Buddhism, and the copious references contained therein naturally become the first resort of the new researchers in the field.

We have previously had the occasion to refer to the earlier works on Buddhism, especially those made by Csoma de Koros (1836) Burnouf (1844), Hardy (1850, 1853, 1866), Köppen (1857-58), Bigandet (1858), Vasilev (1859) and others like Schoebel (*La Buddha et le Bouddhisme* 1857), Barthelemy Saint Hilaire (*Le Bauddha et sa Religion* 1860) T.D. Alwis (*Buddhism: Its Origin, History and Doctrines*, 1862), etc. The works which subsequently came into prominence were E. Senart's *Essai sur la Legende du Buddha* (1873), T.W. Rhys Davids's *Buddhism* (1877), H. Oldenberg's *Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Geminde* (1881), J.H.C. Kern's *Geschiedenis van het Buddhsme in India* (1882) and Monier-Williams's *Buddhism* (1889). Senart's interpretation of the Buddha-legends has previously been dealt with. He believed that the stories relating to the Buddha contained both legendary and historical elements and that the legendary elements as a systematic thought-process in themselves existed in a concrete and coherent form even before the time of the Buddha. He reduced the Buddha into a Sun-god, and tried to explain the twelve episodes of the Buddha's life in terms of solar mythology. The same was also the conclusion of Kern, as we have seen above. On the other hand Rhys Davids and Oldenberg—and to a great extent Vallee Poussin[1] considered the legendary elements and additions to those belonging

[1] Vallee Poussin, *Bouddhisme: Etudes et Materiaux*, Paris, 1898, pp. 233-388.

to the historical category and tried to make a distinction between the two in the same method of historical criticism which was developed by New Testament scholars in studying the life of Jesus.

Buddhism[1] by T.W. Rhys Davids, which was first published in 1877 by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, contained statistics of Buddhism and the sources of information, the life of the Buddha and facts about his disciples, the essential doctrines of Buddhism, Buddhist morality, the order of the mendicants, the legends of the Buddha, Tibetan Buddhism and the spread of Buddhism outside India. The importance of this small book lay in the fact that it was critical and less-speculative in character. By Buddhism Rhys Davids understood Hīnayāna Buddhism and his treatment of Mahāyāna was one-sided and insufficient. It was probably due to his insistence on the so-called original or pristine form of Buddhism.

Oldenberg's *Buddha* was translated into English in 1882.[2] In this work Oldenberg had demolished the sceptical theory of a Solar Buddha put forward by E. Senart and having shifted the legendary elements of the Buddhist tradition had given a rational account of the facts concerning Buddha's life. Here he had examined the original teachings of the Buddha and shown that the cardinal tenets of his philosophy of life (Oldenberg termed it *pessimism* which was, however, an oversimplified assumption) which the Buddha preached were the truth of suffering and the truth of the deliverance from suffering. Also he had expounded the ontology of Buddhism and tried to make the conception of Nirvāṇa to be understood by its true light. And to do all these, he had gone to the roots of Buddhism in pre-Buddhist Brahmanism. The introductory portion of this work is devoted to

[1]The full title of this book was *Buddhism, being a Sketch of the Life and Teaching of Gautama the Buddha*. By 1890 it underwent 14 editions. In 1881, in his Hibbert Lectures (*Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by some Points in the History of Indian Buddhism*) he made a brilliant attempt to show the basic features of early Buddhism and its real mission. This was followed by his *Buddhism: Its History and Culture* (1896). But it is in his *Buddhist India* (1902) that we come across for the first time an attempt to view Indian history and society in the light of knowledge derived essentially from the Buddhist materials.

[2]The ninth edition of the original German in 1921 testifies the popularity of this work. Oldenberg's *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfange des Buddhismus* (1915) was also a remarkable attempt demonstrating the relation between the Upanisadic ideas and those of Buddhism.

the nature of Indian pessimism, asceticism and monastic orders, and the subsequent chapters to the Buddha's career from birth to death indicating the nature of tradition, myth and legend centering round the Buddha, to the tenets of his doctrines and to the Order of the Buddha's disciples. Besides, the work contains the excursus: Of the relative geographical location of Vedic and Buddhist cultures, Notes and authorities on the history of Buddha's youth, and Appendices and authorities in some matters of Buddhist dogmatic. Thus the look may be regarded as the first attempt to view Buddhism in its real historical perspective. Of course there are some errors in Oldenberg's understanding and these were due to two basic reasons, of which the first was the subjective outlook of the nineteenth century scholars and the second was the paucity of materials, especially archaeological, required for any objective understanding of the Indian situation. These two difficulties held good in the case of other scholars also.[1]

The first important handbook of Indian religion was Barth's *Religions of India* (1882) which was originally written in French for a religious encyclopaedia and subsequently rendered into English by J. Woods. This compact and will-written book contains a documentary chapter on Buddhism. In 1895 Hopkins also published a similar handbook under the same title. Justifying his purpose of writing on the same subject under the same title used by Barth, Hopkins said that the purpose of Barth was to acquaint the European readers with the 'knowledge of Indian religions' while his intention was to acquaint the readers with the 'Indian religions themselves.' However, so far as Buddhism was concerned, Barth's remarkable chapter contained all the views of his contemporary and preceding scholars. Under the influence of Senart, Barth had an inclination to consider the Buddha as a mythical figure, though he could not deny his historical existence, while Hopkins, following the line of Oldenberg considered him as a historical figure, but he was not inclined to attribute to the Buddha the role of the greatest political reformer and social revolutionary of his time, as did Köppen whose work Hopkins immensely used.[2]

Reference has already been made to J.H.C. Kern's *Geschiedenis*

[1]In order to understand the merit of Oldenberg's *Buddha* it is necessary to compare it with the once-widely-acclaimed Saint-Hilaire's *Le Bouddha et sa Religion* (1860) translated into English by Laura Ensor (1885, 1895).

[2]The views of Köppen have been dealt elaborately in the next chapter.

van het Buddhisme (1882 in Dutch) which is a monumental work touching on all aspects of Buddhism and the problems inherent in its study.[1] His interpretation of the Buddha-legends in terms of Zodiac and planetary systems, reduction of the Buddha into a Sun-god following the line of Senart, and views on Buddhist sects and councils have already been stated. A smaller English work of this author under the title *A Manual of Indian Buddhism* came out in 1896. Though not so comprehensive as the earlier one, it gives a complete, systematic and concise survey of the long history of Buddhism. Besides the introductory, the work deals with the life of the Buddha, his laws, the Buddhist congregation and modes of worship as well as outlines of ecclesiastical history. M.E. Lulius van Goor, a pupil of Kern, published in 1915 an important work on the history of Buddhism based on Pali sources under the title *De Buddhistischa non Geschetst naar gegevens der Pali literature.*

Monier-Williams's *Buddhism* (1889) is a bulky but useful work in which special stress is laid upon the question of Buddhist morality. In eighteen chapters the author describes the Buddha as a personal teacher, the Dharma or Law as well as the scriptures of Buddhism, the Saṅgha or monastic order, the philosophical doctrines, the morality of Buddhism and its chief aim, changes of Buddhism and its disappearance from India, theistic and polytheistic Buddhism, the mystical elements and their connection with the Yoga philosophy, hierarchical Buddhism especially as developed in Tibet and Mongolia, ceremonial and ritualistic Buddhism, festivals, domestic rites and prayers, sacred places, monasteries and temples, images and idols and sacred objects. There are two additional sections, one dealing with the relation between Buddhism and Jainism and the other showing Buddhism in contrast with Christianity. Very useful although the book is, the author's prejudiced and Christian outlook is very frequently exposed.

R.S. Copleston's *Buddhism, Primitive and Present, in Magadha and Ceylon* (1892) is another important study of Buddhism on the basis of Pali literature. Vallee Poussin's *Bouddhisme: Etudes et materiaux*, of which we have already had many occasions to refer, also came out in the same year (1898). In this work he discussed for the first

[1]Its German translation came out in 1884 and the French in 1902-3 under the title *Histoire du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde.*

time many problems in relation to the real nature and credibility of the Pali sources, the nature of popular Buddhism, the influence of Yoga on the Buddhist system and so on.[1] These were followed by a number of works on Buddhism, with a variety of contents, but not basically historical in nature.[2] We have already pointed out that the impact of the researches on Mahāyāna Buddhism inspired Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids to look for the original teachings of the Buddha who brought out a number of thought-provoking works.[3] The basic approach of the Anglo-Germanic school, as we have seen above, was that upto a certain period of time Buddhism could maintain its pure and ethical form which was followed by a longer period of complete disintegration. But later advocates of this school did not wholly subscribe to this view. For example, E.J. Thomas who in his *Life of Buddha as Legend and History* (1927) has dealt with the legendary and historical aspects of early Buddhism came to the conclusion that the earliest known form of Buddhism was not the only form and that there were other schools of Buddhism with an equal right to claim that they were holding the primitive teaching. This problem has sufficiently been dealt with in other parts of this book. One important work which should be specially mentioned in this connection is Sir Charles Elliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism* which was first published in 1921. The second part of the first volume deals with Hīnayāna, and the first part of the second volumes with Mahāyāna. The volumes are written in a remarkably simple and understandable way, and hence they are popular not only among the students but also among well known scholars in whose works this book is frequently quoted.

[1]Vallee Poussin published numerous works on Buddhism, among which may be counted *Bouddhisme, Opinions sur l'Histoire de la Dogmatique*, Paris, 1909; *The Way to Nirvāṇa*, Cambridge, 1917; *Nirvāṇa*, Paris, 1925; *La Morale bouddhique*, Paris, 1927; *Le dogme et la philosophie du bouddhisme*, Paris, 1930.

[2]A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, New York, 1916; P. Dhalke, *Buddhism and Its place in the Mental Life of Mankind*, London, 1927; B. Cassirer, *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development*, Oxford, 1931; R. Grousset, *In the Footsteps of the Buddha*, London, 1932; A. David-Neel, *Le Bouddhisme, ses Doctrines et ses Methodes*, Eng. trans. H.N.M. Hardy and B. Miall, London, 1939; A.K. Coomaraswamy and I.B. Hroner, *The Living Thought of Gautama the Buddha*, London, 1948, etc.

[3]Some of her outstanding works are *Buddhism* (1912) *Buddhist Psychology* (1914), *Gotama the Man* (1928) *Sakya or Buddhist Origins* (1831), *Manual of Buddhism* (1932), *Buddhism: Its Birth and Dispersal* (1934).

The *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (in 12 vols., ed. J. Hastings, 1902 ff.) contains numerous learned articles on Buddhism contributed by Rhya Davids, Vallee Poussin, Takakusu, Legge, Köppen, Anasaki and a host of authorities on Buddhism. These articles on different aspects, scattered in all the volumes, preserve, both in extent and in degree, a variety of subject matter, which cannot be found in any single volume on Buddhism published so far. Four types of articles are included in these volumes—those dealing with the history of Buddhism in India and other countries like Ceylon, Burma, China, Japan, south-east Asia, etc, those dealing with aspects like heaven and hell, cosmogony, cosmology, soul, deification, demons and spirits, etc.; those dealing with the schools, sects and doctrines of Buddhism; and those dealing with individual Buddhist texts, ancient Buddhist authors, Buddhist terminology, Buddhist sites, etc. Each article, is enriched by numerous textual references, and supplemented by exhaustive bibliography of the subject concerned.[1] The *Buddhist Studies*, edited by B.C. Law contains a good number of very useful articles on different aspects of Buddhism written by eminent authorities. Articles dealing with the Pali sources have got greater importance in this selection, and many of them really contain new information. The articles on the contemporaries of the Buddha, Buddhist sects, the doctrinal aspects and the problems of Buddhist literature are of much importance. Likewise, the *B.C. Law Volume*, edited in two volumes by D.R. Bhandarkar (Poona, 1945-46) contains a number of remarkable articles bearing on the history of Buddhism.

In the model of the *Cambridge History of India*, there were attempts to bring out though organisational efforts volumes on Indian history and civilization, containing contribution of scholars well known in different fields of historical research under some one's efficient editorship. The first among such works was the first volume of the *History of Bengal* published by the Dacca University in 1943

[1]Some important articles contained in the *ERE* are M. Anesaki's Asanga, Asvaghosa (II) and Dhyana (IV) in collaboration with Takakusu). Macdonell's Buddhist Literature (VIII), Vallee Poussin's Adibuddha (I), Atheism, Avalokitesvara (II), Cosmology (IV), Councils and Sects (IV) Mañjuśrī, Mahāyāna, Mādhyamika, Lotus of the True Law (VIII), Buddhist philosophy (IX), Sautrāntika (XI), Buddhist Tantrism (XII), T.W. Rhys Davids' Buddhaghoṣa (II). C.A.F. Rhys Davids' Asceticism (II), Takakusu's Sarvāstivāda, etc.

under the editorship of R.C. Majumdar. This volume contains a remarkable chapter on Bengal Buddhism written by P.C. Bagchi which describe in detail the last phase of Buddhism in India. From the earliest period to the age of the full development of the Tantric form of Buddhism has been discussed. The Pāla rulers were great patrons of Buddhism and they financed liberally to the Buddhist monasteries where monks and scholars supplied the theoretical grounds of Tantric Buddhism. Tibetan sources, especially Tāranātha's *History* are frequently used in this chapter. The chapters dealing with Buddhist architecture, sculpture and iconography were written respectively by S.K. Saraswati, N.R. Ray and J.N. Banerjea. Among projects belonging to such category mention may be made of one undertaken by Bharatiya Itihas Parishad. It planned to bring out a complete history of India in several volumes, but only two volumes could be prepared. The first one, which is the sixth volume of the series was published under the title *Vakataka Gupta Age* (ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar) in 1948. It contains only a few pages (pp. 382-89) on the history of Buddhism written by A.S. Altekar. The second one which is the fourth volume of the series was published in 1951 as *The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* being edited by K.A. Nilakantha Sastri. It also contains a few pages (pp. 299-304) on Buddhism written by P.C. Bagchi. Greater justice to the subject was made in the *Comprehensive History of India*, II, 1957 in which pre-Gupta Buddhism has been thoroughly dealt with by P.C. Bagchi with special emphasis laid upon the role of Buddhism in North Western India under the Greek, Scythian Kuṣāṇa rulers, growth of the Buddhist sects and Kaniṣka's Council.

Among the more successful projects the *History and Culture of the Indian People* series (1951 ff.) published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan and edited by R.C. Majumdar attempts to present a chronological history of the Indian religious systems. In the second, third and fourth volumes of this series chapters on Buddhism were written by N. Dutt and in the fifth volume by N.N. Dasgupta. Iconographical portions were written by J.N. Banerjea. The second volume known by the title *The Age of Imperial Unity* contains the Buddha's life and activities, the principal doctrines, the monastic rules, the councils, and the history of Buddhism before the advent of Mahāyāna. There is also a section on Pali literature. The third volume, known as *The Classical Age* contains greater emphasis on the Mahāyāna, its ethics,

monastic life and doctrines with special elaboration of the Mahāyānist conception of Buddha and that of Bodhisattva. The form of worship, the geographical distribution of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna and the four philosophical schools (Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Mādhyamika and Yogācāra) are described along with a historical survey. It has a section on iconography written by J.N. Banerjea and another on non-canonical Pali literature. The fourth volume, *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, deals with the doctrinal changes: emergence of Tantricism, the Dhāraṇis, Avalokiteśvara and Tārā, early Tantric Buddhist texts, schools of Tantric teachings and distinction between Tantrism and Mahāyānism. It also contains historical review based on Tāranātha's account and an iconographic section. The fifth volume, *Struggle for empire* deals with Tantric Buddhism, its various schools and their offshoots, like Vajrayāna, Kālacakrayāna and Sahajayāna. the Buddhist Tantric texts and the rituals and the influence of popular cults changing Buddhism beyond recognition.

The second edition of the *Cultural Heritage of India* (1956) which is practically an extended and basically different series, especially when we compare it with the original edition of 1934, contains in its first and fourth volumes important chapters on Buddhism. These are N. Aiyaswami Sastri's 'Sramana or non-Brahmanical Sects; B.M. Barua's 'Some Aspects of Early Buddhism', P.V. Bapat's and N. Dutt's 'Schools and Sects of Buddhism', N. Dutt's 'Emergence of Mahāyāna Buddhism', B.T. Bhattacharyya's 'Mahāyānic Pantheon', B.C. Law's 'Karma' and 'Nirvāṇa', V. Bhattacharyya's 'Buddhism in relation to Vedanta', S. Mookherjee's 'Buddhism in Indian Life and Thought', B.T. Bhattacharyya's 'Tantrika Culture among the Buddhists', P.C. Bagchi's 'The Cult of the Buddhist Siddhācāryas', and S.B. Dasgupta's 'Some Later Yogic Schools.' In the same year (1956) on the occasion of the Buddha Jayanti two useful collections on Buddhism were published. *Buddha Jayanti Souvenir* edited by S.L. Sharma and *2500 years of Buddhism* edited by P.V. Bapat. The latter is a Govt. of India publication containing a varied range of subject-matter with a Foreword by S. Radhakrishnan. The chapters are as follows. India and Buddhism (P.V. Bapat), 'Origin of Buddhism (P.L. Vaidya), Life and Teachings (C.V. Joshi), Four Buddhist Councils (B. Jinananda), Aśoka (P.V. Bapat), Expansion of Buddhism, in India, Central Asia and China (P.C. Bagchi) in Korea and Japan (J.N. Takasaki) in Tibet, Ladakh and Nepal (V.V. Gokhale),

in Ceylon, Burma, Malay Penensula Thailand, Vietnam and Indonesia (R.C. Majumdar), Principal Schools and Sects of Buddhism, in India (P.V. Bapat and A.C. Banerjee) in Tibet and Nepal V.V. Gokhale), in China (G.H. Sasaki) in Japan (J.N. Takasaki) in Ceylon, Burma, Thailand and Cambodia (P.V. Bapat), Buddhist Literature (P.V. Bapat and N. Dutt), Buddhist Education (S. Dutt), Some Great Buddhists after Aśoka in India (B.S. Upadhyaya and A. Kausalyayana), in Tibet (R. Sankrityayana) in China G.H. Sasaki), in Japan (J.N. Takasaki), Chinese Travellers (K.A. Nilakantha Sastri), Buddhist Art (T.N. Ramachandran and C. Sivaramamurti), Places of Buddhist Interest (S.K. Saraswati and D.B. Diskalkar), Later Modifications of Buddhism, Approach to Hinduism (N. Aiyaswami Sastri) Tantric Buddhism (A. Govinda), Mantrayana and Sahajayana (H.V. Guenther, Buddhist Studies (P.S. Jaini, P.V. Bapat, J.N. Takasaki and U.N. Ghosal), Buddhism and Modern World (B. Samgharakshita and D. Valisinha). In the same year (1956) was also published another important collection of articles under the title *The Path of the Buddha* being edited by K.W. Morgan. The contributors to this volume were Buddhist scholars of India, Ceylon, Burma and Japan.

In 1956 on the occasion of the Buddha Jayanti, The Buddhist Council of Śrīlaṅkā, (Laṅkā Bauddha Maṇḍalaya) with the co-operation of the Government of Śrīlaṅkā, planned the publication of an *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* in the model of the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* in 15000 pages under the general editorship of G.P. Malalasekera. This project received financial assistance from the UNESCO and scholars of all countries collaborated with it. A fascicule specimen was published and distributed for opinions. Since 1961 three volumes of this *Encyclopaedia* have been published. Each article is well written, and thoroughly documented with references. When all the volumes will come out a qualitative change is bound to take place in the field of Buddhist studies.

Sukumar Dutt's *The Buddha and Five After Centuries* (1957, rep. 1978) is a nice attempt to present the history of Buddhism before the advent of Mahāyāna. The work is divided into four parts, the first containing the details about the founder, the second describing Buddhism in the making, the third dealing with Buddhism of the Aśokan age and the fourth with the subsequent change under the title 'The Old Cult in Crucible'. E. Lamotte's *Histoire du bouddhisme Indien*

(1958), already referred to many times, is a systematic study of the history of Buddhism. Although an increasing amount of material bearing on the history of Buddhism in India during the earlier Christian centuries has become available, it is not easy to digest this into any brief and readily intelligible form. And this we get in Lamotte's book which will remain for many years as a standard work.

R.G. Basak's *Buddha and Buddhism* (1961) reveals the suggestivity of a few Buddhist texts on some basic questions. Thus Nirvāṇa is interpreted from the Mahāyāna point of view, the influence of Mahāyāna Buddhism is pointed out on the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa, the episode of fight of the Buddha with Māra is reviewed on the basis of the *Mahāvastu* and the *Divyāvadāna*, and the changes effected by the Mahāsaṅghikas leading to Mahāyānism are discussed. An entire chapter is devoted to the *Divyāvadāna* version of Aśoka's contribution to Buddhism while in another chapter the author has discussed the ethical and philosophical teachings common to Buddhism and Brahmanism and pointed out the extent to which the former was allied to the Sāṅkhya and Yoga systems. To this category belong N. Ramesan's *Glimpses of Buddhism* (1961) and E. Conze's *Buddhist Thought in India* (1962). A. Mitra-Sastri's *Outline of Early Buddhism* (1963) is a historical survey of Buddhism, Buddhist schools and Saṅghas, mainly based on the study of pre-Gupta inscriptions. The revised edition of Nicol Macnicol's *The Living Religions of the Indian People* (1964) contains an added chapter on Indian Buddhism written by its editor M.H. Harrison under the title. 'Buddhism in India, Its Earlier History and Recent Developments.' It contains, besides an introductory, the life of Buddha, his teachings, parts played in Buddhism by Aśoka and Kaṇiska, the Buddhist schools during the first millennium AD and the Decline of Buddhism in India. The next important work of this pattern is *Die Religionen Indiens*, the first part of which (III, 1964) contains detailed analysis and description of the Buddha's religion by Andre Bareau. It presents complicated details of different Buddhist schools. In this work Bareau has limited himself to Indian Buddhism, but he has not avoided essential references across the borders is respect to Mahāyāna and Tantrism. Besides he has led the history of Buddhism upto the present day and added a good survey of Buddhist studies in European and Asian countries.

Lalmani Joshi's *Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India during the Seventh and Eighth centuries* AD, which came out in 1967, is a very useful work containing twelve chapters respectively on the Background of Earlier Developments, Buddhism in the Seventh and Eighth centuries AD, Buddhist Art in the Monasteries, Monastic Life and Discipline, Ethical and Spiritual Culture, Buddhist Education and Its Centres, Buddhist Learning and Literature, Buddhist Philosophy and Dialectics, Buddhism as viewed by Kumārila and Śaṅkara, Origin and Growth of Esoteric Buddhism, Doctrines and Practices of Esoteric Buddhism and Beginnings of the Decline of Buddhism in India, and five appendices on Emperor Harṣa as a Buddhist author, List of Works translated by Hiuen Tsang, Date of Dharmakīrti, Gauḍapada's synthesis of Buddhism and Vedānta and Chronology of some Early Siddhas. The learned author has taken a selected period in the history of Buddhism in India and made a nice attempt to cover all its aspects. He has collected a vast mass of materials which will be of great help to future researchers. B.N. Chaudhuri's *Buddhist Centres in Ancient India* (1969), is also an important work in which the geographical distribution of early Buddhism is demonstrated mainly on the basis of the Pali sources. For the reconstruction of the early history of Buddhism and also for the study of ancient Indian geography, the work supplies copious and concrete data. Besides the canonical texts the author has utilised epigraphical and other types of materials. Other works worth-mentioning are W. Macquity's *Buddha* (1969), K. Leider's *Buddha Leben-Lehre Jungerscher* (1969), A.K. Warder's *Indian Buddhism* (1970) E. Salisbury's *Buddhist Papers* (1972), T.O. Ling's *Buddha* (1973), etc. We have already had the occasion to refer to Warder's book while dealing with the study on the Buddhist sects. T.O. Ling's work attempts in viewing the Buddha and Buddhism from a realistic angle. It lays emphasis on the social basis of the teachings of the Buddha and views the emergence of Buddhism as a historical process. It shows that the main concern of the person of the Buddha was the problems of his own age.

Studies in the field of the regional histories of Buddhism in India were inspired from the archaeological discoveries connected with the sites of Buddhism in different parts of India. History of Buddhism in Bengal has always been a favourite topic of the scholars because the last phase of Buddhism in India was associated with Bengal. In the *Dacca History of Bengal* mentioned above we come across an

important chapter on the history of Buddhism in Bengal from its beginning to end. N.N. Dasgupta's Bengali work *Bāṅglay Bauddhadharma* (1947) is also a thorough treatment of the subject. New Light on Bengal Buddhism has recently been thrown by T.O. Ling of the Manchester University in a few articles dealing with the so-called last phase of Bengal Buddhism.[1] It is to be noted that after the decline of Buddhism in India, only in two places the followers of Buddhism are actually seen in modern times. One in Chittagong in modern Bangladesh where Buddhism is still a living cult with numerous followers and the other in Orissa where Buddhism still survives in a somewhat changed form. The surviving Buddhism of Chittagong in the background of the long history of Buddhism has been dealt with by modern scholars of that region, and some of their important papers have already been published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan* and also in the Bengali *Itihās Patrikā* published by the Chattagram University. Recently Sukomal Chaudhuri has published a book in Bengali under the title *Bāṅgladeśe Bauddhadharma* (1974) which deals with the surviving Buddhism of the Chittagong region.

So far as the Orissan Buddhism is concerned, as early as in 1911, N.N. Vasu wrote on the surviving Buddhism of this region under the title *Modern Buddhism and Its Followers in Orissa*. It contains a valuable introduction written by Haraprasad Sastri. It was subsequently translated into Hindi by N. Caturvedi in 1961. In 1958, N.K. Sahu's *Buddhism in Orissa* was published. It is based upon the study of Buddhist sites in connection with literary sources and valuable in the sense that on the basis of the data presented here some light on the problem of the ancient migrations of the Buddhists in the region comprising Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa may be thrown. Moreover the influence of Buddhism on the local cults have also been successfully traced. Devala Mitra's excavations at Ratnagiri, the discovery of Banpur hoard and such other events have recently created much interest for a renovated study of Buddhism in Orissa. Prabhat Mukherjee's *The Buddhist Remains in Orissa* (1961) is also an important work in this field. Towards the end of 1976 there was an International Seminar on Buddhism at Cuttack and the proceedings of

[1]T.O. Ling, 'Buddhism in Bengal' in *Man and His Salvation: Studies in the Memory of S.G.F. Brandon*, ed. E.J. Sharpe and J.R. Hinnels, Manchester University Press, 1973, pp. 171-87.

that Seminar published at the same time contained some important articles throwing new light on the history of Buddhism in Orissa.

Assam was also an important centre of Buddhism, especially of Tantric Buddhism. We know of Bhāskaravarman's inclination to Buddhism as has been recorded by Hiuen Tsang. The region which later became celebrated as the resort of the goddess Kāmākhyā was a seat of Tantric learning where the legend of Vasiṣṭha being initiated by the goddess Tārā into Vāmācāra or Cīnācāra might have been evolved. The extent and influence or Buddhism in Assam have not as yet been fully evaluated, only some stray articles have been published like B.K. Barua's 'Notices of Buddhism in Assam.'[1] The same author in his *Cultural History of Assam* (1951) held that Buddhism was not introduced in Kāmarūpa. But as early as in 1914 L.W. Shakespear in his *History of Upper Assam* had pointed out that the faith prevailed in the land from a very ancient period and that many Hindu temples might have been built on the old Buddhist sites. Study on the Buddhist sites of Assam has recently been undertaken by a few scholars of Gauhati University. The results of their survey are expected to come out soon. P.C. Chaudhuri in his *History of the Civilization of the People of Assam* (1966) has dealt with all hitherto available sources of the history of Buddhism in Assam.

We have previously had the occasion to refer to the earlier archaeology oriented studies on the history of Buddhism in South India. Buddhism was well established in Andhra in the time of Aśoka owing to its situation on the midway between Magadha and Ceylon. In the region between the lower valleys of the Krishna and the Godavari we have a number of Buddhist sites. The Stūpas at Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda and also at Bhattiprolu, Jaggayyapeta, Gusiwada and Ghantsala and the sites at Nagapattam on the eastern coast, Srimulavasam on the Western Coast and also the city of Kanchi bear testimony of the influence of Buddhism in South. In 1944-45 K.A. Nilakantha Sastri published two important articles on the history of Buddhism in the Tamil-speaking areas solely on the evidence furnished by Tamil literature.[2] P.C. Alexander's *Buddhism in Kerala* (1949) deals with the history of Buddhism in that area in which it has been shown that Buddhism was there a powerful force up to the ninth century. In 1960,

[1]*D.V. Potdar Commemoration Volume*, 1950.
[2]Mahābodhi, vol. 50; *B.C. Law Volume*, 1945.

the Government of Madras published *The Story of Buddhism with Special Reference to South India* written by A. Aiyappan and P.R. Srinivasan. This work has been able to throw much light on the gaps in the history of South Indian Buddhism.

In Kashmir and North-Western India the part played by Buddhism was historically significant. Kashmir and Gandhara were strongholds of Sarvāstivada and the centres giving rise to the Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika doctrines. This was the region marked by the Buddhist activities of Kaṇiṣka. The famous Gilgit MSS. belonged to this region. Of late, a few important works on Kashmir Buddhism has been published which are G.N. and P.N. Ganhar's *Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh* (1956), Jan Yun Hua's 'Kashmir's contribution to the Expansion of Buddhism in the Far East' (1961)[1] J. Nandou's *Les Bouddhistes Kashmiriens* (1961), Sarla Khosla's *History of Buddhism in Kashmir* (1972) F.M. Hassnain's *Buddhist Kashmir* (1973), etc. *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh* (1977) edited by D.L. Snellgrove and T. Skorupski, gives glimpses of Tibetan Buddhism and its continuation in Ladakh. The eleventh century monastery of Alchi together with other later monasteries are studied in great detail. Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh and in other parts of Northern India has been the subject-matter of a number of books and articles. A comprehensive history of Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh was written by N. Dutt and K.D. Bajpai which was rendered into Hindi in 1956. Upendra Thakur's *Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithila* (1964) is a good regional study. D.C. Ahir's *Buddhism in Northern India* (1972), as the name implies is a thorough treatment of the subject which covers a vast area. In 1976 was published S.M. Pahadia's *Buddhism in Malwa* which deals with the sources of Buddhism of that region, role of Buddhism, sectarian divisions, history of Saṅgha, impact of Buddhism on people and on other religious systems, architecture, sculpture, paintings and a total survey. In the same year (1976) B.G. Gokhale's *Buddhism in Maharashtra* came out. It also deals with similar subjects with reference to the land, people and history, rise of Buddhism in Maharashtra, early Buddhist communities and their organisations, Mahāyāna communities, economic and social background and art activities.

These regional histories are not sufficient in number, and there is

[1] *IHQ*, XXXVII, 1961.

a great need of statewise survey of the historical role of Buddhism. Fortunately there are many works on Buddhist historical sites, of which a few have been referred to in an earlier chapter. These sites have been worked out from a purely archaeological viewpoint, in which emphasis has been laid upon the constructional, iconographical and in some cases, aesthetic aspects. Attempts have also been made to determine the expansion or migration, the environmental aspects leading to doctrinal changes and the emergence of sects, and kindred subjects.

Something about the works dealings with the history of Buddhism outside India should be mentioned. Here we are confronted with a serious problem because most of the modern works belonging to this field of study are composed in the language of the countries concerned, like Simhalese, Chinese or Japanese, in which we have no direct access. It will be therefore reasonable on our part to depend more on the available works in English and other intelligible continental languages. A complete history of Buddhism in Srilanka was outlined in 1928 by G.P. Malalasakera in his treatment of the history of Pali literature in Ceylon, and his celebrated Dictionary contained textual references of persons and places of Srilanka associated with Buddhism. The learned articles dealing with different aspects of Ceylonese Buddhism by Jayawikrama, Wijesekera, Charles Godage, etc., and also the activities of the archaeological Survey of Ceylon contributed immensely to the reconstruction of the history of Ceylonese Buddhism. The credit of writing a comprehensive history of Buddhism in Ceylon goes to Dr. Adikaram whose work came out in 1946 under the title *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon.* It was followed by W. Rahula's *History of Buddhism in Ceylon: The Anurādhapura Period* published ten years later in 1956. Both the works deal with the missionaries sent by emperor Aśoka the tradition of the transplantation of the 'Bodhi' tree and the bringing of the Buddha's tooth from India, the events during the reign of Buddhist kings like Duṭṭhagāminī, Vaṭṭagāminī and others, the schools of Abhayagiri, Dakkhinavihāra and Jetavana, the serious splits in the Buddhist communities and other aspects of the history of Buddhism in Ceylon. Rahula's work deals with the period from the third century BC to 10th century AD. An important recent study of religion and society in Ceylon is H. Bechart's *Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft in den Ländem des Theravāda Buddhismus*, I, 1966. For recent developments in Ceylonese

Buddhism in terms of the modern problems of life the chapter entitled 'Religious Revival and Cultural Nationalism' in W.H. Wrigging's *Ceylon: Dilemmas of a New Nation* (1960) is important.

On Chinese Buddhism reference should be made to the earlier works like P.K. Mukherji's *Indian Literature in China and the Far East* and P.C. Bagchi's *India and China* which were published respectively in the thirties and forties. In 1948 was published a very significant work, a comparative study of Taoist and Buddhist thought, written by W. Liebenthal under the title *The Book of Chao: A Translation from the Original Chinese, with Introduction, Notes and Appendices*. In 1953 came out another interesting work, dealing with recent history of Buddhism, written by W. Chan under the title *Religious Trends in Modern China*. On the influence of Buddhism on Chinese economic life J. Gernet's *Les economiques du Bouddhism dans la societe Chinoise* (1956) is a very important work. Of late we have some valuable books on Chinese Buddhism, written by the Chinese scholars of India. We have already had the occasion to refer to W. Pa-Chow's *Comparative Study of the Prātimokṣa* (1955). Reference must be made in this connection to C.H. Kuang's *History of Chinese Buddhism* (1956). In this work, besides the general history of Chinese Buddhism, special emphasis is laid upon the Sino Indian relation since the introduction of Buddhism in China. The book also contains a valuable appendix on the life of Hiuen Tsang. For a general survey of Chinese Buddhism, E. Zürcher's *Buddhist Conquest of China* (1959), A. F. Wright's *Buddhism and Chinese History* (1959) and K.S. Ch'en's *Buddhism in China* (1964) are especially important. In 1966 Jan Yun Hua's *Chronicle of Buddhism in China* was published by the Visvabharati University. It contains an account of Chinese Buddhism during the period 581-960 AD. It is in fact a rendering from the monk Chih-P'an's *Fo-tsu-Tung-Chi*, edited, translated and annotated with an introduction. On contemporary Buddhist monasticism in China mention should be made of W. Welch's *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism 1900-1950* (1967).

In regard to Japanese Buddhism mention should be made of the classical work of August K. Reischauer's *Studies in Japanese*

[1]It should be pointed out in this connection that in 1963 a good study on Hiuen Tsang had been published by Vietnam Buddhist Institute. It was written by Thich Minha Chau.

Buddhism originally published in 1917 and reprinted in 1970. C. Eliot's *Japanese Buddhism* (1935), although in some parts obsolete, now-a-days, is a valuable contribution. George B. Samson's *Japan: A Cultural History* (rev. ed. 1946) throws important light on Japanese Buddhism. E.O. Reischauer's *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of Law* (1955), is significant for an historical understanding of the influence of Chinese Buddhism in Japan. For the study of Zen Buddhism. D.T. Suzuki's *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (new ed. in three series 1927-61), H. Dumoulin's *Zen: Geschichte und Gestalt* (1959, Eng. trans. *A History of Zen Buddhism* (1963) and *The Development of Chinese Zen after Sixth Patriarch in the Light of Mumonkan* (original Gr. and Eng. trans. 1953) are important. Here we take the opportunity of referring to Z. Tsuji's *History of Japanese Buddhism* in ten volumes which is a remarkable contribution throwing new light on the Tendai, Shingon, Zen, Pureland and Nichiren groups. But these volumes are not easily available in India.

In 1966 Sukumar Dutt published an important work under the title *Buddhism in South-East Asia*, the first part of which deals with, besides the introduction and the traditional nine missions sent from India, the history of Buddhism in Ceylon, the second part with Buddhism in Burma, Siam (including Laos), Cambodia and Vietnam, the third with Buddhism in China, the Chinese Turkestan and the Oasis states, the fourth with Buddhism in Japan and Tibet. The English translations of G. Coedes's remarkable French work appeared under the titles *The Making of South-East Asia* and *The Indianized States of South-East Asia* came out in 1967 and 1968 respectively. Both these works discuss the impact of Indian Civilization and of Buddhism in this area of Asia. N.R. Ray's *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma* was published in 1946. Recently many important studies of the relationship between Buddhism and society in Burma have appeared, of which reference should be made to E. Sarkisyanz's *Buddhist Backgrounds of the Burmese Revolution* (1965), D.E. Smith's *Religion and Politics in Burma* (1965) and M. E. Spiro's *Buddhism and Society: A Great Tradition and Its Burmese Vicissitudes* (1970). The revised edition of Kenneth E. Wells' *Thai Buddhism: Its Rites and Activities* came out in 1960. For a discussion for some contemporary problem of Asian Buddhism E. Benz's *Buddhism or Communism: Which holds the Future of Asia?* (Eng. tr. 1965) is important.

Among the recent works on Tibetan and Mongolian studies on Buddhism mention should be made of R.J. Miller's *Monasteries and Culture Change in Inner Mongolia* (1959), H. Hoffmann's *Die Religionen Tibets* (1956 Eng. trans, *The Religion of Tibet* 1961). G. Tucci and W. Heissig's *Die Religion en Tibets und der Mongolia* (1970) and R.A. Stein's *Le Civilization tibetaine* (1962, Eng. trans, *Tibetan Civilization*, 1972). Tibetan sources contain numerous historical biographies of eminent Buddhist saints. These sources have been worked out in G. Roerich's *Biography of Dharmasvāmin* (1950), H. V. Guenther's *Life and Teachings of Naropā* (1963), etc. Alaka Chattopadhyaya's *Atīśa and Tibet* (1967) embodies an enormous amount of research materials compiled from original Tibetan sources. Specially important are the appendices containing new Tibetan sources translated into English. Certain special features of this work are the mathematical calculations concerning the Tibetan Sexagenary Cycle invaluable for any Tibetologist, Dīpaṃkara's route to Tibet, and Sanskrit restoration of Dīpaṃkara's *Bodhi-patha-pradīpa*. In 1978 was published Eva Dargyay's *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet*. This study analyses the tradition of the Old school of Tibetan Buddhism. More than twenty biographies, unveiling many previously unknown facts and events, indispensable for understanding the history of Tantric Buddhism in Tibet are dealt with in volume. R. Ram's *History of Buddhism in Nepal* came out in 1978. Divided into ten chapters the book begins with an introduction about the historiography of Nepalese Buddhist studies. The religious and spiritual pursuits of the Nepalese kings and Indian Buddhist monks, the role of Siddhas, the influence of Gorakhnath, facts about Atīśa, Dharmasvāmin's account of Nepalese Buddhism, travel hazards experienced by the Tibetan Buddhist monks, wars and calamities, conflict between the Brāhmaṇa and Buddhist ideological forces, etc., have been vividly described in this work.

Chapter 13

Studies on the Social and Functional Role of Buddhism

From the very beginnings of the researches on Buddhism the emphasis was on the doctrinal aspects. Buddhism was viewed by almost all of the scholars as the way out of an individual's spiritual, mental and moral crisis, and this approach still predominates. The recent trend is to find in Buddhism an art or technique of realising mystic experience. The social basis of ideas has never been seriously taken into consideration especially in regard to Buddhism. The rise of Buddhism was certainly to serve some social purpose. It had some distinct social and functional role. But very few attempts have been made to understand all these. Insufficient although these attempts are, they are, by no means, insignificant. In the present chapter we shall try to give an outline of the nature of researches in this field of study.

The first significant work in this field was C. F. Köppen's *Die Religion des Buddha* (2 vols, 1857-59). Though Köppen mainly banked upon Tibetan sources and his main purpose was to study Lamaism as is revealed in his subsequent work *Die lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche* (Berlin, 1859), the work under review is probably the first attempt in which a subjective attitude was taken and the Buddha was viewed as the emancipator of the oppressed and a great political innovator. Although evidence at his disposal was scanty, he tried to find out, imperfectly as was very natural at his period, the social basis of the teachings of the Buddha, even that of the subsequent developments of Buddhist ideas including their increasing emphasis on the doctrine of negation and the development of speculative mythology and esoterism leading finally to the growth of Lamaism. It is interesting to note that Köppen was a great friend of Marx and Engels, and the latter in establishing the principles of dialectical materialism in Buddhist ideas used Köppen's understanding of Buddhism as his only source.

Köppen was severely criticised by his contemporaries and subsequent Buddhologists for relegating the highly spiritual contents of the Divine Buddha's teachings into gross mortal human level. Moreover, at his time since the Pali sources were not properly utilised, the European scholars were acquainted with the Mahāyānic Buddhist concept of suffering which was supposed to be due to non-understanding of the world as a void entity, a view which was in striking similarity with the major trend of thinking of the nineteenth century idealistic (as opposed to the materialistic) philosophers of Europe. Accordingly Buddhism came to be regarded as an intellectual system dealing with 'pure knowledge' as opposed to 'gross or vulgar materialistic knowledge' as it was then so-called. However, increased knowledge of the Pali texts, which also contained a highly sophisticated and philosophically fabricated concept of suffering, but still maintained its material nucleus, led some scholars think that the concept of suffering must have some material basis formulated by the Buddha in response to a specific social demand arising out of certain historical conditions. Accordingly they believed that the study of Buddhism should be correlated with that of the Indian social history and that the social contents of the Buddha's teachings and those of the Buddhist tradition should be brought to light.

The Anglo-German school became more interested in this line of research. The first to view the Buddha's teachings in contemporary social life was H. Oldenberg. In his *Buddha* (1881) he characterised the essence of Buddhism as pessimism, the origin of which he tried to seek, rather very bluntly, to the weak physiological constitution of the inhabitants of Eastern India. His funny theory, which is the weakest portion of his *magnum opus* may be summarised as follows. The Aryans of north-western India were stout and strong because they took flesh and milk and stayed in nice climate. With their subsequent migration to Eastern India, the climate did not suit them. They became lean and thin and victim of numerous tropical diseases. The rate of their mortality increased to such a fantastic level that they became disinterested in life. To them life meant nothing but disease, infirmity and death, and all these were the material basis of the Buddha's teachings. The reality of disease, infirmity and death made them unworldly and they resorted to the illusion of the other world, to the ideas of rebirth, transmigration and metempsychosis, which were all supplied by the Buddha as the way out of the

miseries of human existence. If not the same, a similar view was upheld by Kern also.

T.W. Rhys Davids was however on a more solid ground. Instead of making subjective speculations he insisted on the objective conditions in relation to society, politics and other aspects of life as might be found from the Pali sources, which according to him was full of informations. As we have remarked in the preceding chapter, it is in his *Buddhist India* (1902) that we come across for the first time an attempt to view Indian history and society in the light of knowledge derived essentially from the Buddhist materials, Small but immensely valuable this book contains sixteen chapters dealing with the growth of social classes, urbanism, different patterns of religious and literary activities and some eminent Buddhist kings. Prof. T.W. Rhys Davids had also contributed a significant chapter in the *Cambridge History of India* (I, 1922) under the title 'The History of the Buddhists' in which he described the pre-Buddhistic conditions and their impact on Buddhist ideas, India in the Buddha's time with special reference to the tribal life and social system, the rise of state power in the formation of the kingdoms of Kosala, Magadha, Avanti and Vaṃsa, the gaps in historical sequence, rise of Mauryan empire under Candragupta, the validity of the Buddhist sources, especially on the chronological aspects, in reconstructing the early history of India, and the growth of the Buddhist literature from the time of the Buddha down to Aśoka.

In 1897 was published from Kiel the *magnum opus* of Richard Fick *Die sociale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit* (English translation in 1920 by S.K. Mitra under the title 'The Social Organisation in north-east India in Buddha's Time'). Still now it is the best work on the subject, which is based exclusively on the Jātakas. Here more than 500 Jātakas have been searched inch by inch for the purpose of collecting social and economic data and the materials thus obtained have been arranged systematically from which a clear picture comes out. This book has been the source of inspiration of many subsequent works, like N. Subbarao's *Economic and Political Conditions in Ancient India* (Mysore, 1911) which also banked heavily on the Jātakas. On the basis of the Jātakas and other Buddhist sources Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids made some economic studies. In 1901 she published two important articles, 'Economic Conditions in Ancient India' in *Economic Journal* and 'Notes on

Early Economic Conditions of Northern India' in *JRAS*. Her most significant contributions to this field is the chapter in the *Cambridge History* under the title 'Economic Conditions according to the Early Buddhist Literature' in which she dealt with the rural economy, cities and villages, land system, agriculture, labour and industry, social conditions, trade and commerce, trade centres and routes, methods of exchange and prices, security and interest, and made a general conclusion which transpires from the sources she studied.

R.C. Majumdar's *Corporate Life in Ancient India* (1916, 1922) threw some significant light on the constitution of the Buddhist Saṅghas and the essential features of the Buddhist monastic life. K.P. Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity* (1924) contained discussions on the Saṅghas and Gaṇas and some hints of Buddhist political ideals. The latter had been dealt with more elaborately in N.C. Bandyopadhyaya's *Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories* (in two parts 1927, 1938) in which long and copious extracts from the Jātaka literature in regard to Buddhist socio-political ideals were cited. Much information on the functional role of Buddhism in India is furnished in the three volumes of Vallee Poussin's History of Ancient India: *Indo-Europeens et Indo-Iraniens* (1924, rev. ed. 1936), *L'Inde au temps des Mauryas* (1930); *Dynasties et Histoire de l'Inde depuis Kanishka jusqu'aux invasions musulmanes* (1935).

The functional role of Buddhism in Indian public life was more explicit in the Buddhist educational system. The Buddhist monasteries were celebrated seats of learning which functioned to a great extent like the modern universities. From the account of Hiuen Tsang (translations mentioned above) we get some information on the Buddhist system of education and on the Nalanda University. Greater details are found in the account of I-tsing, Takakusu's excellent translation of which has been referred to above. In 1934 H.D. Sankalia published a monograph under the title *University of Nalanda*. R.K. Mookerji's *Ancient Indian Education* (1947) conveys a lot of information on the Buddhist educational system. Another visible aspect of the functional role of Buddhism is in the field of art on which numerous books have been written, as we have seen above. But the vast architectural and sculptural activities of the Buddhists, as is manifested in the cave temples and other specimens, evidently required a fantastic amount of human labour, employment of many thousands of efficient hands and financial supplies in greatest

abundance. How could they do it, what was their source of income, in which channels the money flowed—all these questions have not been answered as yet.

In the fifties, a good number of books were published in which the social contents of Buddhism had received greater importance. The second volume of Jack Finegan's *Archaeology of World Religions* (1952) deals with the history of Buddhism of the pre-Maurya and Maurya periods, the architecture and sculpture in the Śuṅga and early Andhra periods (Bharhut, Sanchi, Karle, Bodh-Gaya), Buddhism under Bactrian Greeks and the Kuṣāṇas, Buddhist art in the Kuṣāṇa and later Andhra periods (Gandhāra, Mathura, Amaravati), Buddhism in the Gupta period (Sarnath, Bagh, Ajanta), Buddhism in the medieval period (600-1200 AD) and Buddhism in Ceylon, Burma Thailand, Cambodia, Java, Sinkiang, Korea, Japan and Tibet. The emphasis in this work is more on the functional aspects of Buddhism especially in those countries where it is still a living force. The declining stage of Buddhism in India has been the subject-matter of R.C. Mitra's *Decline of Buddhism in India* (1955) in which the author has done his best from available Buddhist and other materials on this subject. But the subject itself requires a new objective appraisal. In the history of Buddhism, as we have pointed out above, we have a series of metamorphosis, the emergence of new system out of the old forms. The latest forms, generally known to us as different ramifications of Tantric Buddhism, had also undergone through a process of metamorphosis, according to the tendency traditionally inherent in Buddhism itself, and this time the degree and extent of this transformation was such as it became practically redundant to designate the changed states after the term Buddhism. These newer forms are to be found in the surviving local and popular religions of Eastern India. A fresh study in this field is seriously needed.

U. Dharmaratna's *Buddha and the Caste System* (1955) is a significant work from sociological point of view. Previously much light on this subject was thrown by Rhys Davids, Hermann Oldenberg and Richard Fick. It should be noted in this connection that although theoretically Buddhism was opposed to Caste system, and within the Saṅgha its practice was not allowed, still Buddhism as a social force did not make any serious attempt to abolish this system through which Indian class society functioned throughout the ages. Although early Buddhism sought to revive some ancient tribal values, its main

emphasis was on the functioning of the class society linked indissolubly to a new form of production. As further qualitative changes in that form did not take place in the history of India for a fantastically long period of time, despite attempts of the later religious reform movements to raise the voice of protest against Caste system, the system itself devoured their spirit. What they did was to form sects in which members of different castes merged into one, but within a short period of time, the sects themselves became caste-oriented. The same held good in the case of Buddhism in Indian soil. But outside India, where the Indian form of the Caste system did not develop, Buddhism appeared as a civilizing influence, although it was the mainstay of feudalism in the lands where it spread. In some countries (Ceylon and especially Tibet), this feudalism was ecclesiastical in which church and state became practically identical, while in China Buddhism helped to bring administrative structure headed by the emperor and run by a host of feudal lords. The role of Buddhism in relation to caste, race and other social and political questions, varied from one place to another.

G.D. De's *Democracy in Early Buddhist Saṅgha* (1955) is a very important work not only for the understanding of the functioning of the early Buddhist Saṅghas but also for the suggestivity of that functioning on certain features of ancient Indian social history. Earlier scholars who worked on this subject, like Rhys Davids, Oldenberg, Jayaswal, Majumdar and others, thought it necessary to use the term 'communistic' to describe the functioning of the early Buddhist Saṅghas. The Saṅghas were run strictly on the basis of democratic rules. All decisions were to be unanimous, and if that was not possible the verdict of the majority was to be granted. There was no such thing as private property within the Saṅghas. The monks could use only three cloth garments, preferably stitched from rags, an almsbowl, needle and thread, and a razor, but these were not his personal possessions. They were forbidden ownership of houses, fields, cattle, the touch of gold or silver, and trade. They lived on alms which amounted to one doubtful meal a day. But the question is wherefrom did the Buddha imitate such a model? An answer to this question has been given by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, but before dealing with his arguments we shall say a few words on the views of D.D. Kosambi expressed in his *Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (1956; further modified in his *Culture and Civilization of Ancient India*, 1965) on the social role of early Buddhism.

Kosambi held that the Vaiśyas and the Sūdras had the task of producing the surplus which the priests and the warriors took away by natural right, originally for the good of tribes, but soon for the good of the upper castes. The Vedic ritual was formulated in pastoral age where large herds collectively owned were the main form of property. The new society had gone over to agriculture, so that the slaughter of more and more animals at a growing number of sacrifices meant a much heavier drain upon producer and production, telling upon trading class and the new economic set-up. Herein lies the economic reason of the Buddhist and Jain emphasis on *ahiṃsā* or non-killing. Truth, justice, not encroaching upon the possession of others, and similar values show that a totally new concept of private individual property had arisen. The *ahiṃsā* doctrine first expressed the basic fact that agriculture can support at least ten times the number of people per square mile than a pastoral economy in the same territory. The doctrine of *Karma* was a religious extenstion of the elementary concept of agricultural economy. It could grow and ripen like a seed planted in a previous season, or mature like a debt, while it never failed to pay in exact proportion. Buddhism did not fight to abolish all castes from society even though the *Śramaṇa* himself renounced caste. Though the Buddhist monastic order functioned along the lines of a tribal *sabhā* council, the Buddhist precepts were meant for a class society far beyond the tribe, caste or cult. The views of Kosambi were basically accepted but modified to a considerably extent by two Marxist scholars, R.S. Sharma and Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya.

Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya in his *Lokāyata* (1959) has sought to explain the origin of Buddhism in the light of the great social transformation, the rise of class society and state power, that took place during the life time of Buddha. According to him, the Buddha was overwhelmed by the stupendous social transformation and wholesale bloodshed of his time; and so also his contemporaries who, however, thought that there was nothing to be done all about these. The Buddha on the other hand asked the people to join his Saṅghas, which were modelled on the patterns of tribal democracies and meant to be the ideal substitutes for a vanished way of life. How thoroughly did the Buddha imitate the tribal model has been shown by Chatto-

padhyaya who, having dealt elaborately with the problems relating to (i) the procedure of entry into the Saṅgha, (ii) the internal administration of the Saṅgha and (iii) the personal or private property within the Saṅgha, came to the conclusion that at a critical stage of Indian history, while the free tribes of the times were being ruthlessly exterminated and, within the orbits of the expanding state powers people were experiencing the rise of new values on the ruins of tribal equality, the Buddha was modelling his Saṅghas on the basic principles of tribal societies and was advising the brethren of his order to mould their lives according to these principles. This point is crucial. In building up his own Saṅghas, Buddha could provide the people of his times with the illusion of a lost reality of the dying tribal collective. And it was only the great genius of the Buddha which could have built this coherent and complete illusion. Not only did he successfully build up his Saṅghas on the model of the pre-class society, but he took great care to see that the members therein —the bhikṣus within the Saṅghas—lived a perfectly detached life, i.e., detached from the great historical transformation going on in society at large, whose course was obviously beyond his power to change. And at the same time the Buddha had to face the dual requirements of his age, and this alone explains why a considerable number of contemporary aristocrats formed his frontrank associates. This explains why Buddhism had given moral support to the interest of the trading class. In fact, Buddha had to act as an unconscious tool of history and it was not possible for him to change the course of historical transformation and what he could do under such a condition was to boost up some of its progressive features in public life and to rescue some of the beneficial aspects of tribal life in a class society.

Sukumar Dutt's *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries* (1963) is a remarkable contribution which has supplied the want of a specialised study on this subject. The Buddhist monastic rules, the formation and inner functioning of the Saṅghas and other related subjects have been treated in most of the works on Buddhism. One point which, however, required further elaboration, that of the economic support of the monks, had long been neglected but the work under review has supplied the basis on which studies in this line may be continued. The disciples of Buddha went along new trade routes, and in the course of a few centuries they became more sophisticated and urbanised. Even the Second Buddhist Council bears testimony of this. It is a fact that numerous merchants, trade-guilds and princes liberally contributed to the Buddhist monasteries, but the exact nature and the real extent of this financial support are not definitely known to us. How that support increased or diminished from time to time and what were its consequences upon the monastic life, and also upon the development and decline of Buddhism in India, has not been properly studied. But this is a subject on which a very valuable work, thoroughly based upon literary and epigraphic materials, can be produced.

Angnelal's *Indian Life in Sanskrit Buddhist literature* (1968) is a very comprehensive work in Hindi. Although the author appears to have some exaggerated notions of Indian cultural heritage, the work is a mine of information, and the data relating to different aspects of Indian life, so carefully been collected from Sanskrit Buddhist sources, are of immense value for a critical study of Indian social life. Sanskrit Buddhist sources are mainly doctrinal in nature. Only there are a few texts like the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* which contain something of social life. The exploration of such texts in which social data are very few is in itself a difficult task. The next important work is Narendra Wagle's *Society at the Time of Buddha* (1968). It is a nice attempt to present the social condition which were responsible for the rise of Buddhism. The author himself is a student of Pali and has depended mainly on the Pali sources. Previously the Pali sources were utilised by the Rhys Davids couple and also by Richard Fick, the former depending on the earlier works and the latter on the Jatakas. But the entire Pali literature was composed a few centuries after the demise of Buddha, and hence it cannot reveal the exact social conditions prevailing during his time. The author of the work under review has followed a new methodology to analyse the social structure of an earlier age from the works of a relatively later period. It appears that he has adopted, with certain reservations, Morgan's theory of consanguinity and affinity which can throw light on the obscure aspects of social life on the basis of the studies in the evolution of kinship terms. Morgan's theory was modified and applied to the problems of the origins of the social institutions by Robert Briffault. It also helped George Thomson to uncover many forgotten pages of Greek social history. In India, it was applied by a few anthropologists in a restricted

way only to some specialised cases. But in the field of historical research its use is practically unknown. Dr. Wagle has analysed the terms of address used by different members of society and thus outlined social groupings and rankings. On the basis of certain terms of habitation, such as *gāma*, *nigama*, etc., he has tried to explain the patterns of settlements and their relative significance. He has also thrown light on the pattern of economic life of the period. Besides an introduction, the work contains chapters on patterns of settlement, social groups and rankings, kinship and marriage and occupational divisions and also a few appendices. D.K. Barua's *Vihāras in Ancient India: A Survey of Buddhist Monasteries* (1969) should also be mentioned in this connection which is an informative and useful work presenting to us facts about the history of Buddhist monasteries and monastic life.

R.S. Sharma in an article published in the *Das Kapital Centenary Volume* (1970) dealing with the material milieu of the birth of Buddhism and also in a paper read at the 29th International Congress of the Orientalists (1973) held that the primary factor that revolutionized the material life of the people around 700 BC in Eastern U.P. and Bihar, the birthplace of Buddhism, was the use of iron which initiated plough agriculture with iron ploughshare, and consequently created a new social set-up, a class society marked by the rise of state power, in which cattle in the form of private wealth, to be increased by commercial activities, gained much importance, and its senseless destruction for the purpose of non-vegetarian food and also for the purpose of Brahmanical sacrificial cults came to be discouraged. The voice of protest was raised by the trading class and was given theoretical and moral support by Buddha and his contemporaries. The most emphatic protest against animal sacrifice is registered in the early Pali texts. The Brahmanical attitude towards trade was not helpful. The traders were not encouraged and they were assigned a lower place in society. Buddha took up the cause of this emergent class, having something new to contribute during its rise to power, and that is why traders of the first rank became his associates, and Buddhism lent all moral support to the financial and other interests of the trading class.

Sharma's viewpoint was reviewed by Dilip K. Chakrabarti in Indian Studies: Past and Present, XIV, No. 4, 1973 who has pointed out that earlier Chalcolithic elements continue to occur in a significant

quantity at all the sites even after the beginning of the use of iron and hence he prefers not to attribute any revolutionary role to it in the social changes preceding to the sixth century BC. But this does not minimise the importance of Sharma's thesis since Chakrabarti himself admits that 'iron was the basic technological element from the sixth century onwards.' In this connection I like to point out that in the Vedic texts there is practically no reference to iron and that iron is mentioned in the earlier Upaniṣads only twice. It should also be pointed out that in the Upaniṣads we come across clear evidence of an enormous amount of social surplus accumulated in the hands of the kings and aristocrats. Kings like Janaka could bestow as gifts thousands of cattles to those preaching the doctrine of *Brahman*, the absolute idealism seeking to establish the unreality of the world. And what was the source of this surplus? It could come only in two ways—either by a revolutionary change in the mode of production or by heavily exploiting the toiling masses. In any case, the sixth century BC was the greatest turning point of ancient Indian history, and the genesis of Buddhism and other non-Brahmanical creeds can only be understood in the economic context of that age.

Two other books, published in 1972, should also be mentioned in this section. One is D.K. Barua's *Analytical Study of the Nikāyas* and the other is G.S.P. Misra's *The Age of Vinaya*. The Sutta and Vinaya Piṭakas have been studied by numerous scholars from different points of view, but works containing the historical analysis of their actual contents are very few. We are grateful to these authors because they have presented before us the real contents of the earlier texts of Buddhism with restricted comments and observations. The Sūtra and Vinaya Piṭaka are rich mine of information for the social and cultural historian of ancient Indian. Both these works are systematic and critical presentation of the data, based on an intensive first hand study of the material in the context of the entire available historical evidence from the age of Buddha. Previously only the Jātakas had been analysed.

V.P. Varma's *Early Buddhism and Its Origins* (1973) is not directly concerned with the problems in relation to the origins of Buddhism. The author is a political scientist, having training in anthropology and sociology, in the light of which he has taken into consideration the revealed facts of Buddhism, and not the problems behind the facts themselves. Besides he has a mental inclination of tracing

the diversity of Indian thought to a single root. Having dealt with the life and personality of Buddha, he has described the anthropological theories regarding the origin of religion and attempted to interpret some of the concepts of Buddhism in their terms. Also he has taken into account the religious history of the Vedic age in the background of which he has dealt with the Buddhist doctrines of pessimism, *anātmavāda*, rebirth, ethics, *nirvāṇa* and mysticism and attempted to establish the relations between Buddhism and the Sāṅkhya-Yoga. A considerable part of this work deals with Buddhism and social sciences in which emphasis has been laid upon the economic background of Buddhism, its political social and anthropological foundations. The work also contains a number of appendices under the titles 'nihilism,' 'Aśoka and Buddhism,' 'Buddha and Aurobindo.' 'Buddha and Marx,' 'Narendra Dava's interpretation of Buddhism,' etc. From a critical point of view, the book is a mine of significant informations, but it is more the author's reflection of Buddhism, as he has understood it, than the type of historical research we are looking for. On the origin of Buddhism, a problem which is yet unsolved, he has nothing to add except tracing the origin of some of the Buddhist concepts to the anthropological theories upheld by the evolutionist schools, and by early Buddhism he has understood Buddhism of the historical period. But all these do not minimise the value of his research and his formulations have no doubt increased our knowledge, so far as the understanding of Buddhism is concerned.

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